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18-CLC'S CONJOINED TWINS
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TI-CAPITAL DIARY
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For all the hyperventilation regarding the Tones possible injuries, it isn't even clear they did anything wrong in the 'in-and-out' scandal.

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Guess what? The founder of Earth Day was anti-human and devoted his energies to preventing immigrants from entering the United States.

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In his first interview since his release from prison, Yassin Abdi Mohamedi—formerly accused of plotting to harm Canadians as part of the “Toronto 18”—doesn’t blame police and wants to move on.

The road ahead for the Tonet is looking just as bumpy as the road behind. A Canadian ad slaying two mosquitoes will be shown worldwide to stem the spread of malaria.

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Looking at the stories behind the Abu Ghraib photos

Where should the victims go?

Novelist and *BeingBong* blogger Cary Doctonow's newest book, *Little Brother*

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Chris "Punch" Andrews, 1965-2004

pe test costs. As input rises 50, its future looks bleak.

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We may not want to hear it, but it seems the old adage about money not buying happiness is *woefully* true.

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Celebrating 40 years.



'Massive amounts of vitamins might do harm, just like too many cheeseburgers'

OH, TAKE A PILL

CATY GULLY'S STORY about vitamin consumption in Canada and its potential hazards was informative ("How vitamins can be hazardous to your health," *Health*, April 21). It is the guest Gerry Harrington, of the Non-protein Drug Manufacturers Association in Ottawa, who points out the persistent nature of a lapian of contradictory studies. Those studies, be they prospective, retrospective or quasi-experimental, have confounded consumers. Studies can be dangerous and studies of studies can often be traced to a funding source that clearly indicates a de facto conflict of interest. A little soul has developed between those in the natural medicine industry and those in the business of pharmaceutical drugs and allopathic medicine. "Natural" surely does square with us, yet we need good education about safe consumption by way of appropriate warnings on the bottles themselves. In the end, I think natural medicine should be left in the hands of those who are trained in this area. Dr. Jack Gossie, *naturopathic doctor*, Geary, N.B.

CERTAINLY, TAKING MASSIVE amounts of some vitamins might do harm, just like drinking too many calories or eating too many cheeseburgers. But Caty Gully's article could have been valuable had she chosen your old nemesis vitamin E and not just plain old common sense. What is needed is a thoroughly researched compilation of all the research passed from properly designed studies on the whole issue of vitamins and health. In fact, I'm 62 years old. I have most of the hair I was born with and it's still the original color. I don't get sick. I don't need eyeglasses. Every thing else still works and I should mention that I have been taking vitamins supplements for 30 years. Arnold Schaff, *Ansonia, Ala.*

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT introduced natural health product regulations in 2004 to ensure that they were of high quality, efficacious and were produced with labels that contained all the necessary information for consumers to make informed choices, such as directions for use, full ingredient disclosure and contraindications. There is no doubt that better communication and education needs to happen, not only between consumers

and their health care practitioners, but also between the media and the consumer. The media has the responsibility to ensure balanced reporting including the use of fair and accurate headlines.

Canadians seeking for information and making their own informed health choices are facing systematic and quality of life. The Canadian Health Food Association and its members are committed to ensuring that consumers have the necessary information and the highest quality products available in order to make these choices. Penelope Marrett, *President and CEO, Canadian Health Food Association, Toronto*



MULTIPLYING HOUSE CANADA is a franchise operation with over 70 retail health food stores across Canada. Our focus is to sell vitamins, minerals and herbal supplements, as well as sports nutrition and diet products to customers. Our store operators are dedicated to their business and their customers, and we pride ourselves on our knowledge about products and the natural health industry.

Your article sends the message that the natural health products industry is one with no facts, values, or regulations, the opposite of what this industry is about. It evokes some rumors and false promises all the time. While I will admit there may be some risks in taking certain natural health products, which for the most part are based on contraindications on the label, natural health supplements rarely have negative side effects. In nearly 20 years in this industry, I have yet to hear about

someone who has overdosed on vitamin C or omega 3, or any other supplement.

To suggest and report the notion that supplements should be treated as a form of medication is counterproductive to the natural health industry and only supports the pharmaceutical drug companies that would like nothing more than to ensure affordable, supportive natural health products are out of reach to the public.

Catherine Desjardis, *Vice President of Operations, Nutrium House Canada Inc., Vancouver*

THE ARTICLE HANGS on two premises: that vitamins are the most damaging of diets 10 or more times higher than the recommended daily intake, and the excessive flow of contradictory studies released daily confuses consumers. The first premise is true of almost everything we ingest, but cough syrup, peanut butter, or Aspirin. While it is true that there are many contradictory studies, and consumers should always be aware of the products they are taking, it is also important that studies and research are consistently being undertaken. Every responsible person involved in the natural health industry works diligently to ensure natural products are safe and effective.

As the industry for natural health and wellness, *Nutrium House* always encourages readers to seek guidance from their health care providers, but we are really aware that many MDs refuse to discuss natural products or simply dismiss them altogether—such a badly situation.

Gerry Lynn Stone, *Editor in Chief, Nutrium House, Richmond, B.C.*

THE ADVICES for good health and a long life is simple: Eat less. Eat well. Exercise. And before you take any supplements, have your blood work done and your DNA profiled to see what's lacking. Only then can you determine what vitamins and minerals your body needs. Though convincing Canadian doctors to requisition these tests may be a challenge, without them you could be wasting away dollars taking the wrong nutrients. Make informed sense to me. Heather S. Grant, *Rockport, Ont.*

SO, INVESTING in vitamins really is bad for you. "Whooshenka!" Not you're going

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'I loved that you celebrated Chloe Marshall. I applaud your phrase "realistic proportions."'

to report on taxpayer-funded research that says falling down five stairs is hazardous to your health, but falling down 30 is worse? Who knows? Current research may reveal that life saves itself.

Pease Patrick, Kingston, Ont

LEADERS LEAD

ANDREW CONNOLLY'S EXCELLENT analysis and conversational brilliance was on-trend in his article concerning "big principles, especially as they applied to the recent decision to block the sale of Delacade, Dismalar and Associates' space division to an American firm ("The space where Tony Perceples used to be," Opinion, April 28). Andrew has not personally had the responsibility of managing government or large business enterprise.

Leaders in strategy and policies, but then have to manage them through compromised and changing circumstances to preserve their vision. Stephen Harper is making a marked difference in a change of direction. More has been accomplished in the past two years than in the previous 30 in sound economic policies, emergency, problem-related relief and focus, lower taxes for every Canadian and showing interested leaders in the world among others.

Ted Rogers, Toronto

WHO'S RIGHT ABOUT RIGHTS?

I WAS VERY INTERESTED IN Charlie Goff's article on the man behind the mechanics of various human rights tribunals in Ontario that erode the right to free speech and are crushing people by forcing them to defend themselves against futile accusations ("Rightious crusade or civil rights abuse?" National, April 21). By his crusading spirit, his self-righteousness and his narrow-minded, Richard Warman would probably have risen to the highest ranks of the Inquisition in Spain or Italy three centuries ago. Despite his law degree, he seems to have never met Lord or Goff's own common law, common sense—much of law results in excess of justice.

Christina Sandeski, Kingston, Ont

THANK YOU for a balanced expose of the crusading Richard Warman. His activities should be a warning to those who naively believe that human rights legislation should take an active role in moulding society to be "better" or more "civil." It seems that a sense of self-righteousness adds belief to our's overrated



IN A PORT AU PRINCE JAIL, "small differences help"

superiority on the part of individuals like him and bodies such as the human rights commissions have laid a dangerous precedent for the ease with which dissenting, honest, or (let's say it) non-politically correct views.

Amour Marchand, Ottawa

THE MISSION IN HAITI

MICHAEL PETROU'S ARTICLE offers a rare glimpse of the human suffering at the heart of Haiti's dysfunctional justice system ("There are we helping? National, April 14). Despite its monumental shortcomings and the difficulties inherent in seeing them reversed, improvements are being made with Canadian support, specifically for women and girls who are victims of sexual violence. Rights & Democracy, with funding from CIDA, has been training women's rights groups such as Kay Femen (meaning "House of Women") in Canada in lobbying techniques and strategizing government action against rape, which is a pervasive problem in Haiti. Thanks to Kay Femen's efforts, the prosecutor's office in Port au Prince created a special unit to deal with cases of sexual violence and has selected

women's rights organizations to contribute to the unit's set up. Such government/civil society collaborations, where the Haitian government works with its citizens on common concerns to improve the justice system, are new nothing, in three women bringing their cases to court instead of suffering in silence. As Patrick Piquette, the police vice-minister in Port-au-Prince, Ont., said in the article, "If everyone makes a small difference, it adds up." With the Canadian government's help, Haiti's tomorrow will make these small differences add up.

Nicholas Galkoff, American Regional Office, Rights & Democracy, Montreal

CURVACEOUS CHLOE

WELL DONE, Madeline, I loved that you celebrated English beauty queen Chloe Marshall ("The ambassador of curves," Newsweek, April 12), even though she is not strict but I also applaud the phrase "realistic proportions" ("The word obesity is not only avoided, it is casually used. All of the people who eat too much and exercise too little don't become obese, while many thin figured people eat sparingly and exercise hard, without changing their shape. Wouldn't it be nice to use a body category where the only prerequisite for membership of any shape was to run up a long staircase, to see who was out of breath at the top?").

Alan A. Ross, Calgary

IN PASSING

Anne Cesari, 94, poet, poet in Marquette, he was one of the earliest proponents of black pride, and became one of the Caribbean's most celebrated writers. He fostered the concept of "negritude," encouraging blacks to be proud of their heritage. *Discover an Colonial* was published in 1970 and is considered a classic in French political literature.

Edward Lorenz, 90, meteorologist. Schooled in mathematics, he was the father of the so-called butterfly effect, demonstrating how small actions can lead to major ones. His work in discovering "deterministic chaos" deeply influenced basic science and revolutionized how scientists perceived nature.



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Local campaigns are largely a fiction anyway



ANDREW COYNE

The so-called "in and out" affair has been bubbling away just below the surface of public consciousness since about last August. For most politicians, the media have paid it little attention, aside from the occasional potted yawn. That it is all over the media now, since the RCMP's heavily publicized raid of Tory headquarters, is because a) we now have pictures, b) we have a genre of pages—the uncut warrens—that we were not permitted to see before, and above all because c) the Tories' heavy-handed attempt to manage the story via selective leaks of the documents' contents backfired miserably.

What has not changed since last August are the facts of the case. It's easy to get very misty about this sort of thing—"Just the image of the Manifesto coming, all those boxes out of Tory HQ has got to be very damaging... the perception is the reality" etc.—but we are obliged, I think, to pay some attention to the actual substance of the charges in Elections Canada's brief, that the Conservative party evaded federal campaign-spending limits by routing party-administered expenses through local riding associations. And these remain as clear as ever.

For all the opposition hypercriticism about "they" "shell games" and "money laundering," it is not clear the Tories did anything wrong. There is in fact no law preventing parties from transferring funds back and forth between the national head office and local riding associations (the Canada Elections Act expressly allows it: see Sect. 444 (2) (i) "A transfer of funds is permitted if it is (a) from a registered party to an electoral district association of the party; (b) from a registered association to the party; and (c) if allowed."

Similarly, if the local associations choose to pool their resources to purchase advertising—even through the party—there is, again,

no law against it. Indeed, as the Tories correctly observed, all the parties do it. For example, in the last election, the Liberals transferred \$1.7 million from the party to the ridings, which in turn purchased 41.5 million in goods and services from the party, without providing Elections Canada's watch.

So it is a bit of a mystery why the present case should be an exception, or why a series of transactions that would easily be acceptable on its own should be considered unacceptable when taken together. The direct Elections Canada's affidavit comes to explaining that it is not that the 67 riding associations that took part in the scheme did not authorize the national party or writing to purchase ads on their behalf, as required by Section 446 (1) of the Act.

But leave aside the letter of the law. Surely this sort of thing is wrong in principle? I'll grant the Tories were gaming the system, but the "system" assumes that a bright line can be drawn between local and national campaigns, and that however precisely local funds may be transferred back and

forth, each with its own spending limits, a party's overall ability to bend the election's ear is the sum of the two, national and local. All the Tories did was to transfer funds from one to the other, the total (and legal) didn't change. Funds were transferred, as Elections Canada itself observes, only to those ridings with unused spending "rooms," and only within those limits.

Of course, as anyone who's ever followed an election will know, local campaigns are largely a fiction. Probably 90 per cent or more of a voter's choice has nothing to do with his riding or the candidates in it. The leader, the party, the platform—these are what matter (probably in that order) and the parties know it, which is why most local ads are more or less indistinguishable from the national ones. Yet Elections Canada appears to believe there must somewhere a purely local campaign, whose party affiliations are unknown and the voters are all local. Indeed, had the Conservatives used that extra \$1.1 million to purchase more identifiably "local" ads, it is unlikely they

For all the opposition hyperventilating, it's not clear the Tories did anything wrong



would have had a problem, as several commentators have noted.

So in which direction on the question: how local is local? Run an ad with a big picture of Stephen Harper and the slogan "Vote for Blue, Your Stephen Harper Candidate in Central West," and it's local. Run the same picture with the slogan "The Harper Team," followed by those smaller type-setting "in Central West, Your Conservative Candidate is Joe Blow," and it's national. Or might be—it all depends on Elections Canada's interpretation. Maybe if the second line were bigger? Or the camera lingered on it longer?

If you were something to get upset about, you should know that a good part of all this spending, national or local, is on your time, whether through the one credits for political contributions, or the reimbursement of candidates' expenses, or the infamous \$1.75 per vote "allowance" brought in under the Chretien reforms. If you ask me, that's a scandal. But whether a party spends with its left hand or its right? Well...

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The real reason Harper is so angry all the time



PAUL WELLS

Probably this isn't the best week to bring to the attention that Stephen Harper is smarter than everyone else. Not after five years in Canada's ruling party headquarters and his press shop couldn't even argue a three-ovule leak. But Harper has been down before and, so far at least, he usually winds up on top later. So despite the current downing, let us assume, and try to find, the elaborate Harper strategy behind a simple and persistent question: why is the guy so angry all the time?

I've never seen a leader attack the other person's income as readily as Harper does whenever he is crossed. Linda Koch was worried about nuclear safety? Must be a failed hack. Percher Electric Canada enforce the Electric Act? Same kind of no-no to mention. The Senate, the CBC, the parliamentary committee system, the ordinary citizens' consultation—someone who gets in Harper's way will have three minutes designated and their progress halted, by any means necessary, courtesy of the Harper PMO.

"It is the angry style of this government that forces it into the pit," Ron Murphy said on the CBC after the latest firing, calling Harper's style a "reflex streak of sadism."

Sure. There isn't a more to it than that. This will take some explaining. Start with an unknown to the thinking days of 1981, when Harper was a private citizen contemplating a run for the leadership of the Conservative Alliance. He popped up at an Alliance breakfast meeting on competitiveness policy outside Vancouver. For a fellow mulling a come-back, his speech was no bomburster. Indeed, it was built to make a point only a weak could lose: that the optimal size for a nation's government must be about 30 per cent of gross domestic product. A bigger government simply wastes money and gets in the way, he said. "Canada

is 90 cents on the dollar above that level," he told Alliance competitors packed in either words. Canada's various levels of government were spending closer to 45 per cent of GDP and needed pruning.

And what a pruning it would have to be. Total federal spending in 2005 was about \$120 billion, so Harper rounded like he was calling for 140 billion in cuts to government spending. Shutting down half dozen government departments wouldn't begin to do it.

There's another way, however: simply cut the government to grow more slowly than the economy. Presumably you've got a smaller government than you'd have if you'd let up on the brakes. And indeed that's the result governments in Canada have achieved after

since it was spending in 7 percent more of GDP than U.S. governments in 1990. By 2009 the gap will have nearly disappeared. If you look at revenues instead of spending, the Canada-U.S. gap will have been cut in half. By the crude yardsticks of total revenues and total spending, Canada's governments have outperformed sharply with their U.S. neighbors.

Whether this is a good thing depends on your perspective. My friend Andrew Coyne will say Canada's governments are still economically profligate, that it's absurd to ask governments to grow in to the economy does, and the happening another third of the state could hardly be. To argue that a decade and a half of (relative) restraint was a good thing, but that a politics that vilifies



He's out to shrink the size of government. Bureaucrats better keep their heads down.

15 years of (relative) restraint.

Figures from the OECD show that in 1990, Canada's federal, provincial and local governments together spent about 43.5 per cent of the country's GDP. By 1993 that figure had grown to 51.3 per cent. But the next year John Chretien, Ralph Klein, Mike Harris and the Bill Clinton boom of the mid-1990s Green reforms and governments across the country cut spending. By 2006 government outlays as a share of GDP had already shrunk to 42 per cent, a little below the 45 per cent Harper mentioned in his speech. By 2006 when he became Prime Minister, the figure was down to 39.5 per cent. The OECD figures suggest that by next year it will have nudged down just a bit, to 38.5 per cent. For a guy who set a target of 30 per cent when he launched the record cut in politics, this is interesting progress.

Here's how interesting: average government outlays across the OECD have stayed roughly constant as a fraction of GDP between 1990 and 2008, so does the case of Canada's government has fallen more well above the OECD average to a little below. And whereas Canada's gov-

ernment's tax rates and debt reduction has lost a certain sense of possibility. The latest federal budget predicts tax cuts next year will be "the lowest since 1963-64," but it's not to loosen up a little?

But that's precisely the reaction Harper fears. He wants a government the size of a dinner buffet. Canada is still far from that goal. And the government could start swinging back in any moment.

So he needs to set the earth. If the Tories manage to lose the next election, Harper wants to ensure the Liberals don't reverse the (relative) restraint of the Chretien years. So he's working hard to delegitimize the very idea of government action by delegitimizing any public expenditure dumb enough to stick its head up. That's also why he sent a few cabinet ministers, armed with pointy bamboo, after Dalton McGuinty's Ontario governments.

Relief and satisfaction? It's probably relief, all right. But indulging the reflex is wasteful.

ON THE WEB For more Paul Wells, visit his blog at www.macleans.ca/techcolumn



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Great planet, too bad about all the people



ANDREW POTTER

On March 29, millions of people around the world turned on their lights between 8 and 9 p.m. to mark our concern over global warming. We called this "Earth Hour." On April 22, millions of people gathered to listen to speeches, enjoy live music, and browse art exhibits. We called it "Earth Day." Since when did the planet get so popular? It's hard to conceive events like Earth Hour or Earth Day without coming across at some what of a creak. But as a deserving object of all this concern, the earth is surely overrated. The problem is not just that symbolic acts of concern are more or less pointless, although that's part of it. It's that being sustainable precludes concern that one be also anti-human.

The first Earth Day was held on April 22, 1970, and the date is widely held to mark the founding of modern environmentalism. It was instigated by U.S. senator Gaylord Nelson, who valued it as a centerpiece of his vision of the framework of the American—and later international—political agenda. By any standard, it has been a smashing success. Over the past four decades, Earth Day has raised awareness of the problems associated with pollution, oil spills, nuclear waste, acid rain, and more recently, global warming.

This is all very good, of course. But what is worrisome is the deep and vicious strain of messianic messianism in contemporary environmentalism, which actually has its origins in the very conception of Earth Day. Gaylord Nelson was basically a Malthusian, and he believed that there was a direct link between the number of humans around and the extent of environmental degradation. That is why, when he wasn't busy trying to save the earth from oil spills, he devoted his energies to saving the United States of America from immigrants. He was a loud advocate of strong border controls, and he favored policies

that would stabilize and eventually reduce the country's population. For the good reason, being pro-earth was almost indistinguishable from being anti-people.

Thirty-five years later, the concept Earth Day is just one version of an approach to thinking about the environment that has been called "the move to the outside." The goal is to flee as to any plague from our artificial, human control concerns and to render the planet as a whole, and the intellectual roots of Earth Day are found in metaphors like Buckminster Fuller's notion of "space ship earth" as well as James Lovelock's "Gaia" hypothesis, which conceives of the planet as a single living organism.

It would be stupid to deny the rhetorical



The founder of Earth Day was also a loud advocate of limiting immigration to the U.S.

power of the move to the outside, in that it encourages us to consider the complex interdependence of the biosphere's various systems. But once we accept the logic of this movement, we are on a very slippery slope that leads us to a place where it is almost impossible to give the needs of humans any privileged consideration whatsoever. Humans are just one element of the ecosystem among many, no more important than the earth worms that munch the soil or the bees that pollinate the flowers. And so when we step back to look at the face-saving of the earth as its entirety, environmental threats get reinterpreted as either mechanical or biological malfunctions: the spaceship broken or Gaia in distress. It is no leap from this to the conclusion that modern humans—with our polluting factories and our wasteful forms of consumption—are a biological aberration, like a parasite or a virus, or the pain we simply being alive is an affront to nature.

You can actually see this line of thinking at

work in a popular interpretation of the phenomenon of global warming. What's supposedly going on is that the earth has a "fever," and the reason it has a fever is it has been infected by a virus (i.e., humanity) that it is trying to kill off by overheating. With global warming, humans are getting rid of less than what we deserve: either we reduce our environmental footprint and learn to live within our ecological niche, or the earth's natural defense mechanisms will do it for us. Either way, we have no choice.

This is a surprisingly persuasive view, which affirms the arguments of many influential environmentalists, including David Suzuki and the social critic James Howard Kunstler. And while this form of specialized rhetoric

may have as genuine appeal (Suzuki, in particular, can hardly contain his delight at the prospect of ecological catastrophe: "Let the glowing begin," he once wrote, in reference to rising energy prices), it is hardly our ability to do something about global warming.

It is becoming increasingly obvious that even a fully international carbon tax or cap and trade system is going to be inadequate, in the long run it will take a technological quantum leap to reduce global carbon emissions to levels scientists

believe necessary to put a stop to global warming. We'd be better off focusing our efforts on mitigating the effects of climate change, especially on poverty constraints in low lying areas, while working toward an eventual technological breakthrough.

In the meantime, the best thing we could do for the planet is change our attitude about humanity's place upon it. That there are now as many people living in the U.S. as were alive worldwide in the year 1800 is a marvel, not a tragedy, as is the fact that the global population has quadrupled in the last 100 years.

Humanity is not a virus, it is the fruit of the earth's productive capacities. Our goal should be to get and keep as many people alive as possible, because if there is anything that will persuade us to take good care of this big blue marble it is that we will be the losers of countless billions to do so. ■

ON THE WEB: For more, Andrew Potter sent his blog at www.macleans.ca/andrepotter

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'When I found out I was pregnant, I said we have to find out right away if it's twins or just one. Thank heavens it's just one.'

FELICIA SIMMS TALKS TO KEN MACQUEEN ABOUT THE RISK AND REWARDS OF CONJOINED TWINS, AND THE IMPENDING BIRTH OF HER FIFTH CHILD

The 18 months since the birth of conjoined twins Krista and Krista have been a whirlwind of happiness and health scares for their mother, Felicia Simms, father, Brendan Hayes, and for Felicia's parents, Louise and Doug McKay. The girls are star attractions in their hometown of Vinona, B.C., there was even a community first birthday party with a "twin joined cake" of vanilla and chocolate. *New Simms*, 32, is pregnant again, and due to deliver a daughter—her fifth child—April 25. "It hasn't been a little quiet about it because it was a little too soon because of Krista and Krista needing so much attention," says their grandmother, Louise, who helps raise the twins and Steven's other two children, Ross, 5, and Christopher, 3. "Now it's gotten on us and I'm kind of looking forward to it." The McKays moved into a bright rental house, with space for their extended family. It's a house with a grim history: 12 years ago it was the scene of a B.C. Mayday mass murder. Nine members of a family were shot to death there and the gunman, the estranged husband of one victim, cemented himself into a family to put her back in the house. "When I came in, I got a nice feeling," Louise says. "You put your own heaven in it."

Q: I'm sure you've been asked this before, but with four young children and you're just 32, don't you have enough on your plate?
A: I've decided from the very beginning, even after I had the girls, I wanted to try for another one. Didn't expect it to be so soon. She's going to be my last. I'll be getting my values read when I'm in the operating room.
Q: You know it's all?
A: Yeah, it's a girl. Another one.

Q: I know you love farm. Do you have a fairy name picked out?
A: Yes, it is. Her name is Shaylee. It means fairy queen of the field.

Q: Will you live with your parents?
A: I still have my own apartment. I'll stay here [at her parents'] for the first couple of weeks after the baby is born so I have time to heal and get everything organized. Then I'll be going home.

Q: It's been talked about the father, Brendan. Is he all or the picture?

A: He is the person with the girls and he does come around to help. He'll still be here.

Q: How is he coping with the prospect of four?

A: [He laughs.] He's okay with it. He loves kids, especially his own kids, so he's really looking forward to another one. He knows it's going to be really busy. He does really well. He was working. Right now he's in the process of looking for a job.

Q: How have people in Vinona responded to your pregnancy?

A: They haven't said much about my pregnancy, mostly they pay attention to the girls. I think after the baby is born we'll be getting a lot more questions. But that's fine.

Q: Still, the kids. I guess everyone has a difficult time coping?

A: I've always been around big families. My mom had five and she's always taking in

living up to your potential.

A: Everybody who knows me thinks of me that way, that I'm a great mom. I got that every day by [the] [the son, Christopher], so I guess I am. I just go through every day doing what I have to do for my kids.

Q: I'm sure you've been asked this before, but with four young children and you're just 32, don't you have enough on your plate?

A: I've decided from the very beginning, even after I had the girls, I wanted to try for another one. Didn't expect it to be so soon. She's going to be my last. I'll be getting my values read when I'm in the operating room.
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Q: Still, the kids. I guess everyone has a difficult time coping?

A: I've always been around big families. My mom had five and she's always taking in

kids, so it's always been normal for me. To have a big family is not a big deal for me.

Q: How are the twins doing?

A: They had a really rough winter but they're doing well now. They're at 13.9 kilograms. So they're gaining weight, getting into trouble.

Q: And losing, I hear them from here.

A: Scaring. They have to have their nap in the morning or they're so cranky. They're normal looking. They get around everywhere, they even get into the museum. They love the attention, they have to have attention 24/7.

Q: They get physiotherapy—what for?

A: They came in and try to get their motor skills working properly.

Q: Are they trying to get them to crawl?

A: We're trying to get them to tolerate being on their stomachs. They scream. We think if we can get them to tolerate their own mass then they'll try to pick themselves up. That will hopefully get them crawling.

Q: Are you getting government help?

A: So far we've gotten everything we've needed. It's still really hectic trying to keep up with their diapers and all their food and everything, there's so much of it. Other than that, their copayment from Sunway Hill [Sun's Centre for Children] is paid for. All their medical stuff is paid for. We've been lucky, so far we haven't run into any bumps yet.

Q: There was a trust fund set up when the girls were born. Does that still exist?

A: I think it's empty. We had to use quite a bit of it for their formula, their diapers and everything. It's been rough but we make it, we learn through.

Q: How do you ensure that Christopher and Ross don't miss out on attention?

A: Ross is really into wanting to find them lately. She takes the jar and finds one of them and I find the other one. A lot of the time Christopher is playing games. He's three years old and he loves Nintendo. He doesn't interact with his sister. But he does like interacting with his sisters. He'll go down the stairs, he'll come and then go back to his parents.

Q: You're always out and about in the com-



Congratulations, Felicia, on your pregnancy. It's going to be a success, I understand.

A: Thank you. It's all booked, here at the Vernon Jubilee Hospital.

Q: Were you apprehensive about the pregnancy?

A: When I found out I was pregnant I went in to [the doctor] and we had to find out right away whether it's twins or just one. He got me an ultrasound right away at the hospital. Thank because it's just one. I was like, okay, I'm good now.

Q: One of your family friends told me you were born to be a mother. Obviously, you're

THREE GENERATIONS, LOUISE MCKAY and Felicia Simms with Tashia (left) and Krista



monstrous. You certainly haven't hidden these girls away. What has the response been?

A We've got some negative, some good. We get people that come up and ask questions. And usually I prefer them to come up and ask questions and look at the girls and want to know stuff about them. We've also gotten negative reactions where little kids will look at them and their parents will cover their eyes and take them off. But it's just the way they feel about it. We've got a lot of people say, 'Oh, they're so gorgeous.'

If they would tell us they're going to die so you're going to have to make a decision: either we separate them or they both die. Only then would I actually consider that.'

genet: On TV they look so much different. When they actually see them in person they go, 'Oh wow.'

Q: You know despite the girls always thought between themselves. Do you agree?

A: There's a connection between the two in their own way. You can definitely tell they see out of each other's eyes sometimes. When Krista looks at something and Tim can't see it, Tim's eyes stop moving. She'll run past and it's almost as if she's seeing what he was looking at on the other side. She stops, she starts. It's very interesting to see.

Q: Do you think they have it on and off?

A: It's like they have this on and they can turn it on whenever they want to see something. They're always looking at.

Q: Consequently, they can read each other's thoughts?

A: Pretty much.

Q: That's true.

A: I think it would be cool sometimes to be able to when other people are using or feeling. But it is a little eerie. Actually being

able to do that would be kind of odd.

Q: Do they get along?

A: They're like normal sisters, they fight, they argue, they bicker. They fight over toys but for the most part they do get along. They bubble at each other.

Q: How are you feeling things like high school?

A: They have a chair built for them by Sunny Hill. They come in to the house and they look at the house of the girls. They are in that. They play in that.

Q: You said you could tell them apart even on the womb. How have their personalities

developed over time?

A: They're still completely different from each other. Krista is a real mischievous, someone to go anywhere. She talks. She's the mean one, she's quite the bully, especially when she's cranky, she likes to pick on her sister quite a bit. Tim is really laid back. She's quite a bit. Krista is really laid back. She's quite a bit. Krista is really laid back. She's quite a bit.

Q: Her heart's been hurt in the past. How do you think that's affected her work?

A: They think that's why she doesn't panic. Her heart purges all the blood and her lungs filter it for both of them. Krista does some filtering, but not half as much as Tim.

Q: Because of that I gather there is concern Krista's passing away weight?

A: She's still quite tiny. They don't expect her to get very big because of how much work she does.

Q: You had a scare in November when you had to rush back to Vancouver.

A: Yeah, they had pneumonia for two months and nobody caught it in Vernon [in Vancouver] they were put in isolation for 10 days. Tim's heart had worked so hard during

those two months that she was really run down. They and when a couple of more weeks we would have lost them.

Q: Are there any medical options to correct for imbalances between the two?

A: They took those scans when we were there to see if Krista had grown more veins [in the shared heart hole]. I think they got quite a positive scan but they don't want to do anything until it's a necessary thing. If Tim went to complete heart failure then they would probably go ahead and do a procedure to try to block some blood flow in their hearts and see if it will transfer over to Krista, to get Krista to do her own work.

Q: That would obviously be a very complex operation.

A: You'd be very risky. They can have strokes or heart attacks during this operation. It's only if necessary, if Tim were to go into heart failure, that is or the doctors would even think of doing it.

Q: Is there a circumstance when they would have to consider separation?

A: Only if Tim were to go into complete heart failure and that [either] procedure didn't work. Then they would tell us they're going to do so you're going to have to make a decision. either we separate them or they both die. Only then would I actually consider that, but it's in my thoughts.

Q: That one may die to save the other?

A: Yes.

Q: The medical people I saw that a medical journal called your twins "a tragedy that never should have happened." As a mother, how do you respond to that?

A: I don't really feel kind of upset about it. It just doesn't bother me. They have their own operator. It's a first world, they can say what they want. I can go day by day loving my girls as they are. ■

ON THE WEB: For more photos of the family please go to www.foxnews.com/twins

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PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL COLEMAN

THE AMIGOS' SIESTA SUMMIT

The North American leaders defended NAFTA, but borders remain clogged up

BY LITERA CIE SANCHEZ — Only about eight protesters bothered showing up outside the meeting of the three North American leaders in New Orleans on Tuesday. A few waved signs that read "traitors," one objected to a joint commercial ceremony ("No Amigos"), and one held a picture of poor "U.S. farm on a cross" ("Stop exploiting my country"). Barricaded away from the press conference where the leaders were discussing ongoing work on the bilateral Security and Prosperity Partnership, the demonstrators were reduced to shouting at Canadian journalists ("Globofin ruinful! Get out of my country!") Military vehicles brought in for crowd control stood idle.

At the meeting in Moonbello, Que., last summer, some 3,000 protesters turned up to protest free trade and what they feared would be the plotting of a "North American union." Perhaps this time even the anarchists didn't want to come and make a day that took such a beating at the hands of Mother Nature. Or maybe they weren't a handful to run through the mosquito-like the leaders.

Inside the ornate and hallowed Galvez Hall, where Mardi Gras royalty took care to watch the annual parades, the leaders held an hour-long press conference but made little news. Prime Minister Stephen Harper, U.S. President George W. Bush and Mexican President Felipe Calderón took turns affirming the importance of NAFTA against protectionist noises coming from the Democratic presidential candidates. "This is not the time to even think about undoing it or cancelling it," said Calderón. "We have used the occasion to point out, in front of the assembled White House press corps, that Canada was the big gas supplier of energy to the U.S. and that

in my negotiations, 'I think quite frankly, you know, we would be in an even stronger position now than we were 20 years ago.' The badly verbalized cross went mostly ignored by the U.S. media, who focused instead on Bush's verbal squandering of American House Speaker Nancy Pelosi for asking a congressional vote on another trade agreement with ally South American ally "Actually, my biggest concern on trade right now is with Colombia," he said.

Inside the meetings, the North American Competitiveness Council, a group of business leaders who had been invited by the three leaders to advise them on making North American more competitive, made its pitch at a meeting that ran over an hour. The CEOs issued a strong public affirmation of the progress of NAFTA, and they got it. Expectations were so low that some of the business folks didn't even bother attending this year. "Nothing big is coming out of this meeting," said one. "Slipped this one thing slipped down," explained another.

The biggest issue has been the border: how to streamline crossings for people and cargo in a security-heavy environment of multiplying laws, regulations and inspections. Business groups' biggest demands remain unfulfilled, such as paper-clearance facilities to clear trucks through customs before they reach the physical border. "Like No. 1 specific concern that came from the Canadians and the Mexicans was the border, and as-yet-unfilled of the border," Thomas d'Aquino, president of the Canadian Council of Chief Executives, who attended the meetings, told *Maclean's*.

Public Safety Minister Stockwell Day said in an interview after the summit that the security of the continent is the top priority. The new book Bush by surprise. "Protesters Bush was very interested to hear the concerns. He was not surprised by the concerns about the closing of the border to the degree we are, and he gave instructions to [Hussein] Security



TOP: HARPER, CALDERÓN, BUSH; BOTTOM: HARPER, CALDERÓN, BUSH

Secretary [Michael] Chertoff to work closely with me to work on developing areas [where cargo] can be pre-cleared before they get to the land border."

Day said that commercial progress was made in two main areas. For one thing, a detailed plan on when and how to reopen borders in the aftermath of a major catastrophe looked forward. In Moonbello, all eyes had been asked to draw up such "business resurgence" plans. The one, they were asked to finish them and to conduct a practice exercise before the end of the year.

The second area of progress was harmonization from both leaders to harmonize safety standards for automobiles and food sold in all three countries. "Health and safety standards are set by sovereign countries, but they are quite close when you look at food and auto parts. It's a matter of not reducing standards, but of harmonizing," said Day. Officials were told to include this task in an aggressive way, he said. "The quicker and the faster we can achieve higher harmonization or mutual recognition agreements, they will make us more competitive," said Tom d'Aquino.

AFTER YEARS OF EFFORT, IT IS NOW BECOMING EVIDENT THAT THE ODDS IN WASHINGTON ARE STACKED AGAINST BORDER FACILITATION

Harper also told reporters he emphasized the importance of moving ahead with a new border crossing between Windsor and Detroit during his meetings with Bush. "The Prime Minister really laid out clearly the Canadian position and concerns that we need an alternative route," explained Day. "And the President made a commitment to take that on." But David Bradley, the CEO of the Canadian Trucking Alliance, cautioned that he's heard such vague promises before. "I have been predicting that it will be 10 years before we see second crossing at Windsor-Detroit, and I am hoping it can progress much, but after all the talk and study of the past several years, the reality is that you can take a truck from Toronto to Mexico and you will still get through 17 weighbridges, 10 of them are in Windsor," he told *Maclean's*.

The business groups also pushed the leaders to coordinate their policies on climate change. "We need a degree of commonality and policy coordination on climate change negotiations," said d'Aquino. They discussed up carbon acquisition as a technology worthy of promotion by both governments. But most of these issues continue to be discussed without major progress. "More needs to be done urgently to fix the problems in the Canada-U.S. border. It continues to grow harder to cross and increasingly so," said Pierre Beatty, president of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce. "Most businesses expect the border to be worse, not better, five years from now."

After three years of glacial efforts, it is now becoming evident that the odds in Washington are simply stacked against border facilitation. All the political incentives are lined up in precisely the opposite direction to facilitate it, whether against terrorism or illegal immigrants. The share of American GDP generated by cross-border trade is much lower than in Canada, and the economic argument holds less weight. At the same time it is the hands of the Department of Homeland Security, whose responsibility is for security, not for trade. "You have a machine that seems to be running itself," observes Beatty.

Marcus Barlow, of the Council of Canadian Leaders, and other critics have called for more openness and consultation with citizens and groups other than business as a regulatory harmonization goes forward. But in New Orleans, the leaders gave no indication they would involve other groups. In a briefing prior to the summit, a senior Canadian official said mechanisms for seeking public comment already exist: the regulatory processes of the three individual countries.

Meanwhile, the right critics of the SPP, who fear a coming "crisis" of the three countries, had to look a bit harder for something to get alarmed about. They found it: the bilateral summit changed its name. Rather than calling it the "SPP Summit," another Toronto news outlet wrote on *WorldNetDaily*, "The White House is engaged in a public relations campaign [to] position the meeting away from the controversial issue of continental integration [which] is instead a 'North American Leaders Summit'." The meeting appears designed to create photo opportunities showing President Bush with Mexico's President Felipe Calderón and Canada's Prime Minister Stephen Harper rather than emphasize the bilateral co-operation that was the centerpiece of previous SPP summit meetings.

Perhaps, or, more likely, there wasn't a due and informed co-operation to emphasize.



FAMILY BUSINESS: Yasin Mohamed with his mother Aisha Mohamed, grandfather Aliou Maga, and younger brother Hamza Mohamed

THE TERRORIST WHO WASN'T

Exclusive interview: Yasin Mohamed talks of prison and prospects

BY MICHAEL FREICOLANTE • The old car has been replaced, yet, one of the walls in the banquet room still needs to be knocked down. But the essential pieces of a new restaurant—the tables, the high chairs, and that bright blue sign hanging over the front doors—were put in place a few weeks ago, just in time for the grand opening. “We’re going to set up the espresso machines over there,” says Yasin, 36, Mohamed, walking through the dining room into the kitchen. “And this is where the crashes happen. It gets pretty busy in here.”

Located in Toronto's west end, Blue Nile is the poster child of a family business. Mohamed's parents agreed the lease, his aunts and three brothers all work their share of shifts, and his aunt is the head chef—an expert in African and Middle Eastern dishes (you can't find the specialty). Mohamed, now 36, is the general manager. “I’ve concerned myself to this day,” he says. “I’ve been here 34/7.”

There was a time—34 months, to be exact—when Yasin Mohamed spent 24 hours a day in solitary confinement. He was an accused terrorist, an alleged gunman for a group

of young, riched Muslims with dreams of storming Parliament Hill, kidnapping Stephen Harper and bombing the Toronto Stock Exchange. But that was before April 14, when Crown attorneys decided that four more of Canada's homegrown terror suspects weren't worth the effort. Along with Mohamed, all charges were stayed against Ibrahim Aboudi, Ahmad Ghany and Abdul Qayyum Jamal. Add the three teenagers whose files were already abandoned, and the “Toronto 10” has suddenly shrunk to the “Toronto 11.”

Mohamed's ordeal is a capillary snip. Unlike the other six who managed to avoid trial, he is the only one to be released with absolutely no conditions. He is free to go wherever, please, speak to anyone and, most importantly, voice a written claim from his native Somalia. Prosecutors originally offered to allow him to change his name for a “peace bond,” a court order that would have eventually restricted him to a year of house arrest on the “reasonable” grounds that he might incite a riot. This offer was rejected. He agreed to these conditions, but Mohamed—who has professed his innocence since the day he was charged—refused to admit any ties to terrorism, even if it meant his freedom. His parole paid off. The government stayed his case anyway, and by that time next year, all charges will be officially dropped.

It's impossible to know exactly why the Crown folded, the facts will only say that such decisions are made “in the public interest.” But the outcome certainly suggests that Mohamed, one of the first targets to appear on the Muslims' radar, was never the signpost about the cops' perceived bias to be. In fact, in his first interview since being released from prison, he means he was the victim of extreme circumstances, and would never be involved in a plot to kill fellow Canadians. “This is my home,” he says. “People have nothing to worry about with me.”

Mohamed is no angel. He is the first to admit that he made his share of bad choices. But his refusal to finally tell his side of the story (his family is too. They are all here tonight, sitting on the restaurant floor as Mohamed tries to explain how his name landed on a list of alleged terrorists. “I don't want to make a link, but I've been disgraced, prison, paid off by what happened,” he tells Mohamed.) “That's not the reason I've put my passion always told me that if you live close, regular life, whatever happened to you would not have happened. One evil spread the door to many more evils.”

The eldest of five children, Mohamed was born in Mogadishu but came to Canada as a refugee at age 5. “I was 10, and I asked the immigration officer to choose for me the

best place for family,” says his father, Mohamed. And Mohamed, “I decided, ‘If you give me that responsibility, I will tell you to go to Cambridge, Ont.’” So that's where they went. For the next 12 years, the children attended school during the day and Islamic studies at night. When Yasin turned 15, however, he began to rebel against his parents' religious way of life, skipping class and breaking the law. His dad figured that a fresh start might be best for his son and moved the family to Toronto. It didn't work.

There were glimmers of hope. In 2001, he enrolled at Humber College, but dropped out by second semester. “I landed back into the wrong way of life again,” he says. He worked at Home Depot for a while, again taking the luggage carts. Then came a job at the Rogers Centre, selling seats to Toronto Blue Jays fans. He lasted half the season.

By 2005, Mohamed seemed to have found his niche. Working with a partner—a close friend named Ali Dine—he would drive to New York state, buy designer clothes at discount prices, and resell the merchandise in Toronto's inner city neighborhoods (he insists, by the way, that he always paid the duty when he crossed the border). On a good trip, he could clear \$1,000. “It wasn't ‘hustle-breaking work,’” he says. “It actually didn't feel like work at all.”

In the early morning hours of Aug. 13, 2005, Mohamed and Dine drove toward the Peace Bridge in Port Huron, Ont., the last leg of yet another trip to the U.S. It proved to be their last one. Canadian border guards discovered a handgun in Mohamed's waistband and a knife in his pocket. Dine had two firearms, both taped to his thighs.

At first glance, it seemed like a typical gun smuggling case, but when the RCMP arrived to investigate, they discovered something bigger: Mohamed's black rental car was paid for by Robert Ahmed—a 21-year-old Scarborough man who was being monitored by CSIS, Canada's spy agency. Mohamed and Dine were now linked to a suspected terrorist.

Detectors pressed Mohamed about his connections to Ahmed. How long have you known him? Were the guns being imported for personal purposes? He offered the same response as he does today: “I know of Robert, but I didn't know him personally,” he says. “It wasn't in the back of my mind that we might have an alleged terrorist meeting the

car,” Mohamed says he always paid for the rental car, but on that afternoon in late July, his credit card was swiped out. He called a few friends, he says, but nobody could help him. But Dine did find a buddy willing to lend him his Visa. Fuhm Ahmed.

Mohamed, Dine and another man left for Buffalo that day, but because of heavy traffic and delays in immigration, they didn't reach the U.S. until after the stores closed. They ended up at a McDonald's, Mohamed says, and that's when he and Dine started talking about getting a gun. They had discussed it before, debating whether they needed “protection” for their clothing business. “We didn't go into the recent neighborhoods,” he says. They decided right then to buy a gun. Their friend, however, came to purchase clothes, not weapons, so they dropped him off at a bus stop, then headed to Ohio. “It wasn't as easy as I thought to buy a gun,”

he says a few months later, when a store group allegedly tried to buy three boxes of highly explosive fertilizer. Yasin Mohamed was behind him during the entire conversation.

Not on June 1, 2006, the day after the shooting raids, six guards approached his cell, told him he was linked to “an important case,” and escorted him to solitary confinement. The inmate next door had a television, and he watched the volume to Mohamed could hear the news on American satellite. Truck broke. Terrorism. “I had on my bed and I'm thinking, ‘How do I do it? How do I get my name put into this?’” When he appeared in court a few days later, he was shackled to men he had never met. “Who is this?” he asked. “Who is this person? What is this person?” He would spend more than a year in solitary confinement, and eventually enough, it was in isolation where he got to know some of the so-called. They would be on the floor and

MOHAMED PRAYS with his family, he says he knew of Father Ahmed (right) but didn't know him personally



“I DON'T BLAME THE POLICE. I STEPPED OUT OF NORMAL LIFE, GOT A GUN.”

Mohamed says. “We ended up staying for two weeks.” As he reaches the end of his story—the last at the border—his father bows his head, the distress evident in his face.

Mohamed and Dine had paid guilty to possessing and carrying firearms, in exchange for a two-year sentence. As the sentence, the Muslims launched a full-blown conversation into Ahmed's activities. In December 2007, officers followed more than a dozen young Muslims to a so-called winter training camp in rural Ontario. They were still weak

whisper through the borders of the door—until they discovered another way to communicate using the plastic table in their cells. The word means would result through the table and was the next person's call, so to become like a phone. Mohamed says, smiling at the memory. “You would talk to me, then just your car to it.”

Mostly, though, he thinks he was quiet. “I got some time to sit,” he says. “I got time to just sit and think about myself.” He sent a novel for the first time in years (a Peter



STORY FREELOADERS TOLD TO PAY FOR DRINKS

Local candidates have been free-loading on national budgets, getting free coverage and free media stuff without having to fork up to the law, as they say. What they did in this case was actually use candidates to fork up to the law. Former Ontario federal Conservative candidate Steve Marchese is being sued with allegations of “in-and-out” campaign fund transfers by the Tories, which Elections Canada is investigating.

balance by Robinson (Murray), and he indie covered the Queen. "I started investigating and relying on God," he says. "God is in control of the affairs. God already decreed that we would be sitting here today, and after my release we would act the second straight."

Outside the restaurant window, the sun began to set on a warm Saturday night in Toronto. Mohamed's father politely interrupts the conversation, reminding his children that it's time for Maghrib, the fourth of Islam's five daily prayers. The family lines up in two rows behind Mohamed's 10-year-old brother, Husein, who leads the prayers. "Akhlaq Allah," he chants, as his family kneels toward Mecca. Yousif follows along, his brown hair reaching the carpet as he bows.

"I don't blame the police or the Canadian government," he says later, over tea and dessert. "I stepped out of that normal life and got a gun. And after that, I had to expect what was coming to me. But it is surprising that it took until now for the prosecution, and the police to see the light." He only hopes that his friend Ali Dine enjoys a similar outcome. "I know he's innocent," he continues. "He just happens to have a loose association with some people, but Ali was involved in the same thing. It was involved with 'We unite the doctrine together' [to struggle the gun], and it was only us. There was nobody connected to us. So if they're charging Ali with what they have charged me, then Ali is just as innocent as I am." Later, Mohamed gives one step further: "For the most part, I'm satisfied that a lot of the guys are innocent."

But are some of them guilty? It is possible, as the government says, that a group of those men were plotting a terrorist attack on Canadian soil. Mohamed pauses. "I wouldn't answer that just because the case is still ongoing, and anything I say could possibly lead to be used even against me—and more likely against them," he says. "I don't want to complicate anybody's story. If they are innocent people, and they are not out there to harm innocent people, then I don't have a problem with them. But if they turn out to be individuals out there to kill people unjustly, then I do have a problem with them. I don't feel comfortable being heads a killer."

Mohamed is certainly comfortable in his new surroundings, however. He is a natural salesman, and it's easy to believe him when he says that this day, he plans to have a chain of Blue Nile restaurants around the world. But he is realistic, too. He knows that guns and cops will be watching him for years to come. "I wasn't the secretary because I knew I'm not doing anything," he says. "They'll eventually go home." And if they get hungry, he only hopes they choose his restaurant to spend their hard-earned money. ■

More bumps ahead for the Tories

BY JOHN GRONKOWSKI • The spate of stories about alleged ethical lapses that has spoiled the Tories' springtime may be one last signpost: more on claims that Environment Minister John Baird is implicated in an Ottawa municipal politics scandal. Ottawa Mayor Larry O'Grady has been charged with trying to bribe a rival into dropping out of the city's 2006 mayoral race. Liberal MP Mark Holland has tried to link Baird to the affair, and is being sued for libel by Baird's chief of staff for denouncing Holland, though, the lawsuit is about to let him air his version of events in a statement of defence. He is expected to tie the very public court document with days' potential fodder for more detailed reporting on the murky episode.

It's the last thing the Conservatives need after the Chuck Cadman affair and the Elcom Canada raid on Tory offices in the so-called "an-d-on" campaign-spending dispute. The damage to the Harper government's image has Liberals thinking, again, about forcing a June election. "The mood," said a senior Conservative staffer, "has obviously changed."

But Stéphane Dion hasn't yet signalled any openness to head to the polls. A Dion aide



THE LIBERALS are thinking, once again, about a June election

allowed that "the most likely trigger" for bringing down Harper's majority would be a mid-May vote on the government's new immigration law, which is bundled into its budget bill. But the aide added cautiously that Dion has no indication that he "doesn't" force the government falling on that.

In other words, though, Liberals are sounding a bit more frisky. Although Dion has sworn negative ads, a Liberal official could "conceivably" do so in a possibility. "What might that be?" asks that contrast Mr. Dion's integrity against the lapses of integrity, perhaps, of Mr. Harper and the Conservatives. ■

Infect! Infect! Kill humans with malaria.

BY PAUL WELLS • In the public service ad, two computer animated mosquitoes ponder the tiny spectacle of a computer animated child in obnoxious slumber. The kid has caught malaria year after year, the bugs tell each



THE STARS of a Canadian ad that will soon air worldwide

other. And because his parents haven't protected him with bed net again this year, they can infect him with the life-threatening disease one more time. With a hearty cry of "Infect! Infect! Infect humans with malaria," the two bugs fly in for the kill.

That's the plot of one of dozens of public service spots, featuring talkative cartoon mosquitoes named Buzz and Bzzz, made in Ottawa and soon to be broadcast around the world. They're the brainchild of Prabhat Khanna, an Ottawa producer and director whose previous venture into public health featured the Three Amigos, funny animated talking condoms who spread information about HIV and AIDS.

Khanna's new campaign is part of the pro-life, after-life saving, Canadian fascination with eradicating malaria. Politicians, doctors, Bollywood stars and Canadian Rick Mercer have helped lead the fight the Net campaign in conjunction with UNICEF Canada. The Canadian Red Cross's Malaria Alert program, which also includes a bed net distribution component, has received \$46.6 million from CIDA, and will now spread awareness through Khanna's ad campaign.

The ads come in 10 languages, including English, Amharic, Luganda and Tagalog, and will eventually be seen on TV in countries that have 60 per cent of the world's at-risk population. "Most public service ad campaigns back you on the head," Khanna says. "They say, 'Do this or you die.'" Buzz and Bzzz are, at least comparatively, light-hearted. It's not clear how one of the world's coldest countries became a leader in malaria prevention, but nobody's complaining. ■



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Why Israel can't survive

Sixty years on, the country is facing a choice of two futures: it can be Jewish or democratic — but not both

BY MICHAEL PETROU

PHOTOGRAPHS BY URIEL SINAL/GETTY IMAGES

On a clear day, from a hilltop outside Ramallah, the de facto capital of the Palestinian Authority's quasi-autonomous territory in the West Bank and just about dead centre of all the land controlled by Israel, it is possible to look east and see the mountains of Jordan, another country, then turn around and see the serrated skyline of Tel Avivward, a little farther on, the ocean.

One sweeping glance captures the boundless area of a conflict that has persisted for 60 years and whose foundations haven't changed. Israel's earliest advocates understood the challenge their dream of homeland would face years before the Zionist project really got under way. Shortly after Theodor Herzl, the founder of political Zionism, published *The Jewish State* in 1896, two Viennese rabbis decided to travel to the Middle East to explore for themselves Herzl's idea of a home for the Jewish people in Palestine. Their visit resulted in a cable home in which the two rabbis wrote: "The bible is beautiful, but she is married to another man."

So, then, Herzl's dream of a Jewish state has been realized, although he never lived to see it. And Israel's success in its first 60 years has been staggering: It has created a home, and a nation, for Jews from all over the world who often shared little in common other than faith—and sometimes hardly that. Hebrew, a once near-dead language, has been revived and is now used to write both poetry and computer programs. Most importantly, Israel has survived, surrounded by people and countries that wish it didn't exist and have tried to erase it. And yet, as Israel prepares to celebrate its 60th anniversary, it is its refusal or inability to deal with this most fundamental reality—that Israel, the Land of Israel, has two nations, Jews and Palestinian Arabs—that most threatens Israel's future as a Jewish democratic state.

The threat posed to Israel by Palestinians isn't military, or even occasionally violent roadside killings, suicide bombings, shootings, even rockets from Gaza into Israel. They will never destroy it. It is also true that Israel faces other enemies, even existential, mortal perils. Hezbollah, the Lebanese Shia guerrilla army, hooded Israel two summers ago, and a nuclear-armed Iran would jeopardize its very future.

But Israel is ready to confront both these dangers. The Wye River accords, which contained the country's actions in its criticism of the Israel Defense Forces. The IDF will drive, and apply the necessary lessons the next time it faces Hezbollah, which will likely be soon. The Iranian threat is more menacing and grim, but Israel will face it

the Prime Minister, a former intelligence officer in the IDF, told Aljazeera that Israel will not adopt its old ready-to-use tactic to stop Iran from getting the bomb—in part because it doesn't want to give the international community an excuse to avoid including the issue. But, he said, Israel is absolutely committed to keeping nuclear weapons from the Iranian regime, and will do what is necessary to prevent that from happening. Mark Regan, a spokesman for Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert, confirmed that Israel is unwilling to rely on deterrence—the idea that fear of Israeli over-reaction to an escalation might prevent Tehran from launching nuclear war—as a means to prevent Iran from launching nuclear war as a means to prevent Israel.

Palestinian Arabs present a challenge to Israel that is at once more straightforward and infinitely more difficult to resolve. Within one or two decades, the number of Muslims and Christian Arabs living under Israeli control (including in Gaza, the West Bank and Jericho) will surpass the number of Israelis. What then happens, if there is still no Palestinian state (and in the absence of large scale ethnic cleansing), Israelis will be forced to choose between two futures. Their country will either be Jewish, but not democratic—either needs, a Jewish minority will control a land mostly inhabited by Palestinians—or Israel will be democratic, but not Jewish, because Arabs will form the majority in what will become a bi-national state.

Israel will be Jewish, or democratic. It can't be both. And if it can't be both, the Zionist dream on which Israel is founded will end. This is the greatest threat Israel faces on the eve of its 60th anniversary. It won't have another 60 years to address it.

Israel's current cross-groove of its mass glorious victory. The 1947 Six Day War saw the fledgling state-led by the combined armies of Egypt, Jordan and Syria, which were backed with additional arms and troops from other Arab countries. Within less than a week, Israel captured the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights, and the West Bank, increasing the amount of territory under its control several times over. Most significantly, it now controlled all of the holy city of Jerusalem.

The photograph The image is now the most iconic portrait of a rapper ever taken in Israel. For many who see it, it captures a moment when anything and everything seemed possible.

"It was crying when I took that picture," Robinson says in an interview with Michael Ondaatje's *Wall Street Journal*. "I was looking at the camera and I thought about the future—the relief! Suddenly, you're no longer dead any longer. These weeks before, we were fleeing in a feeling of total doom. We are sure that we were facing another Holocaust. This standing in Tel Aviv was planned as a burial ground for 40,000 people. Now, if they put you up on the gallows, put the rope around your neck, just when they're about to let it drop you're not a very good mood. You're still crying. You're probably a thing in your pants." Robinson says he has seen his own image on ropes and signs, on a sign he produced, and not only as one paraded, but "you're stiched, and a martyrdom, and a king. You'll grow up."

Thus, according to Kuchenger, it exactly what

'You worry about the

'You worry about their rights,' Matar says of Palestinians. 'What about Jewish rights?'



WHILE **OWNERSHIP** means survival: the Western Wall in Jerusalem (top), Nadia Hater (above right), police removing extremist settlers from a disputed house on the West Bank

emigrate to Israeli society did, when they started to settle here's newly acquired territory. "Many people who were once slightly religious felt that a victory like this couldn't be said easily it was divine," he said. "That was the moment when the religious movement was born, the settlers 'God has given it to us, and we've not asked to reject.' Because it's God's gift it's not because of relief. But for many religious people, this was a religious experience," God said us. "We were ordered and God gave us a sign that all of Israel is ours. We'll settle the land, and so I tell with the Arabs. And the word occupation doesn't exist, because God has given it to us."

Bulwer, now 51, with a goatee, a thick mustache frame, and what others have called "a very off-kilter hair," is an engaging and accomplished writer whose subtle wit has been parlayed the length of his literary career as a modernist poet. He has known most of the country's prime ministers, and his photo adorns the walls of his office—including one of Archibald, signed and addressed to "My friend, who will never sue for me." Inspired by the victory in the 1967 vote war, he says, the grandest disaster that has befallen the country. Then he grins and pouts up from beneath bushy eyebrows: "If you quote me only on that, I'll kill you. Because there could be no

Still, the consequences of Israel's victory—namely the settlement of occupied territories—have frustrated prospects for peace in the decades since. And now, with Israel perhaps inextricably entangled in the West Bank, these same fruits of victory threaten Israel's future as well.

Today, there are some 280,000 residents in the West Bank, and another 300,000 in its eastern suburbs of Jerusalem. Some live there for economic reasons. Others, more vocal and politically influential, believe the West Bank—or Judea and Samaria, as they prefer to call it—is an inseparable part of Eretz Israel, which they, as Jews, have a duty to settle.

Many settlers are reluctant to talk to journalists, especially foreign ones. Nadia Matar is different. Eloquent and unassuming, she is a very public face of the right-wing settlement movement and is co-chair of the pro-settlement group, Women for Israel's Tomorrow. Matar was born in Belgium, but her accent when she speaks English, reflects the American origins of her husband. She describes herself as "modern Orthodox," wears jeans

or jeans rather than billowy skirts, and kept her hair uncovered except for a basic ball cap.

When teased by a *Mirror* reporter, the loss in permeation prepared which she delivers rapid fire, complete with brightly coloured, humanised maps to show that historic Israel include not only the West Bank and Gaza, but also Jordan. Another map compares the size of Israel with Lake Winnipeg in Manitoba. The shiny, sleek

the feel of a pitch designed for young teenagers, and one of Matrangola often speaks at local schools. Her presentation ends with a photograph of her extended family, all of whom were murdered at Auschwitz. They, she says, are

Muzar is opposed to the creation of a Palestinian state and believes Israel must annex the West Bank and Gaza. "Israel cannot give up land in Judaea and Samaria. The new Nations today is Islam. And they want to do it to me first, and you next. We have to do to them what the Americans did to the Nazis. Kill all their leaders. Kill all the collaborators. Then, we'll find those willing to make peace."

the West Bank and Gaza. When she asked how long I could continue to exist as a Jewish state if Muslim Arabs were the majority, she looks genuinely surprised by the question. "It's not going to give them voting rights," she says. "I will give them the basics of bones and do everything to make them want to leave. If there's a democracy, they'll use my democracy to succeed in doing what they wanted to do by terror. Democracy isn't some thing holy. What worries me is that you're not taking their rights. What about the rights of Jews to Israel?"

The number of settlers in the West Bank has grown over the last 15 years, despite various peace initiatives proposing a freeze. In addition to government-approved settlement blocks, there are dozens of illegal "outposts" that are typically established in villages deep

Israeli government," Mark Regan, the press minister's spokesman, told Macdonald. "We are not happy with our performance, on what he added, referring to these outposts. "We're not proud of our performance, and we have to do more."

Nadia Wasser offers to take us to one such outpost, called Matzah B'Harven. It is located on a hilltop far beyond the security barriers that Israel has been building since 2002. As we approach by car, Matzah points to the surrounding barren hills. "Can you see any Arab villages or city? Any farms? Nothing. But they say these settlements are too much on Arab land. How is this place bad for George Bush or for Congress? How is this worse than any American town?"

We are greeted by one of Masabi's former residents, Derry Halanish, 37, and his dog Jihad. Halanish founded the settlement in 2000 with one other person. They drove their trailers to the site in the middle of night and parked. Others arrived within a week. The settlement now consists of seven or eight mobile homes that house an equal number.

Hallenshief says he's not particularly religious, but he believes in God. In 2004, he was living in Bremen but decided to move back to Israel, where he was born. "I realized that my place was here. Not now, that's not true here. Today, he says he loves living in a freedom. "In so many ways we are beyond the law and can do what we want. I don't think anything else in Israel has this freedom."

Hakim believes the Palestinians living in the West Bank must be forced out. "The exact method is not important. It could be first and violent, as in a war. It can be a violent and gradual process that led mostly by economic pressure and other means. The important thing is that we do it," he says. "Had the Arabs accepted our ownership of the land, they could have stayed here. Because they do not accept our ownership of the land, they are our enemies and enemy."

immigrants, Koby Mandell and Yusef Ishak were blind-guided to each other after they skipped school to go hiking. At times it seems difficult to travel in Israel or the West Bank without stumbling on places stained with similar histories.

Israeli settlements and Palestinian villages are already so crisscrossed throughout the West Bank that keeping the two peoples apart is virtually impossible. There are roads for settlers and roads for Palestinians—nearly distinguished by quality—but often the highways are shared. Different colored license plates allow soldiers manning checkpoints to tell who is who. In the fields, surveillance

some Arab villages, hundreds of olive tree stumps stick out of the ground. The groves have been cut down by Israeli settlers—part of the strategy described by Netanyahu of partitioning the Palestinian to leave.

Macdonald spent a few days in the Palestinian town of the West Bank, with a Palestinian car and a translator. We traveled first to Hebron, probably the most politically charged city in the region. Here, in the middle of about 150,000 Palestinians, some 700 Jewish settlers live in an enclave focused around the Cave of the Patriarchs, where Abraham and several members of his family are said to be buried. The site is holy to both Jews and Muslims, and both faiths worship there—although they must use different entrances to the same place that has been excised over the tomb, and the building is divided inside. The Jews of Hebron have suffered numerous terrorist attacks over the years. In 1994, the Israeli settler Baruch Goldstein murdered 29 Muslims praying at the tomb.

Several days earlier, I had visited the Cave of the Patriarchs during an Israeli tour. It was a simple, if tense, matter of passing through the Muslim neighborhood, where Israeli cars have been attacked in the past, directly toward the Jewish enclave surrounding the tomb. Today, approaching on foot with Mohamed, the Palestinian translator hired by Macdonald, it is a much more difficult affair.

It takes an hour to attempt, each time trying from a different direction. We are sent back the first two times, despite Mohamed attempting to joke with the Israeli soldier, who we see from a distance, running the checkpoint. Finally we reach a barrier of revolving gates at the end of a covered market that is now deserted, most of its shops shuttered and locked. On the other side of the barrier, which we are permitted to cross, the street is reserved exclusively for Muslims and there are few Palestinian shops except with special permits. Occasionally, international activists or tourists arriving to see the tomb wander down to the end of the street and buy some cheap souvenirs. But Marcus Kalish, a shop owner who works about 10 m inside the Jewish enclave, says he hasn't sold anything in five days.

Kalish says the idea of a two-state solution, in which the land would be divided between an Israeli and Palestinian state, is a dead dream that will never happen. He wants the Holy Land to become one Islamic state, with Jews in Abu Ghuray, a word that is usually never mentioned, but is a prelude to a vision that has required the religious community to acknowledge Muslim sovereignty. "It will be like the Jewish state today, but in reverse," he says. "Jews have never had an independent state in history.

Why should they have one now?"

Kalish's enthusiasm shows that of the Islamic group Fatah in Hebron, although he does not say he supports the organization. He says he has come to reject the idea of a negotiated two-state solution through daily experience. "You want to know why I think this?" he asks. "I am on my door right there at the front of the shop, my neighbour beside me. Every day, the soldier walks in front of me and down their fingers across their throats. Everyday. We try to explain this to the soldiers, and they throw it away. They can't do anything for us, even on days like this. Abu Mazen [the Palestinian president, also known as Mahmoud Abbas]."

On the way back from Hebron, we are pulled over in an Israeli checkpoint. Mohamed is a mild-mannered man who understands Hebrew but refuses to speak it to Israeli soldiers in the West Bank, even when pulled over. "Why're you going to occupy me, the last

"You think that the settlement policy is one-way?" asks Jarbawal. "It's an entanglement."



SEPARATE but never apart: The security barrier (above), Palestinians sit on Israeli crossing

they can't do anything for us," he says later. In the event, a charity mission. The soldier who orders Mohamed out of the car is an Israeli from Eilat, a small and busy Israeli town. He is armed. He glances in our trunk while his partner steps around the car to get a closer view into the passenger seat and aims his rifle, sometimes around my throat. Within a few minutes we're on our way.

Our road home starts the Israeli security barrier. It has been credited with dramatically decreasing the number of terrorist attacks inside Israel, though Palestinians deny it is a land grab because much of it runs inside the West Bank, essentially enclosing territory captured in 1967 to the rest of Israel. Mohamed doesn't think the wall has much to do with

security because, he says, it's able to cross it at will. Doubtful, I ask him as they are where. We soon pass a bunker that has been thrown up against the wall. Palestinians will use it to jump the fence when it gets dark. A little further on, a large drainage, about five feet in diameter, runs beneath the wall. Within the space of two or three minutes, a woman emerges from the Israeli side, and a soldier and boy cross in the opposite direction.

Back in Ramallah, I meet with Ali Jarbawal, a professor at Birzeit University, and a man who understands that Israeli settlement of the West Bank threatens Israel as much as the Palestinians who live there. Like many, perhaps most, Palestinians, he focuses more on a solution with borders corresponding to

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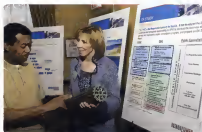
OPG is focused on meeting this need for Ontario

OPG assesses nuclear refurbishment
OPG is determining whether or not to refurbish at Pickering B and Darlington nuclear stations. OPG will only consider refurbishing those stations if there is a solid business case to justify such large and complex projects.

Pickering B refurbishment

In 2007, OPG continued assessing the feasibility of refurbishing Pickering B.

This included identifying the scope of work required to refurbish and continue to operate the plant for a further 25-30 years and examining the refurbishment and post-refurbishment operating costs. OPG finished assessing the plant's current condition and is completing the Environmental Assessment (EA) and



OPG staff discuss the EA and ISR for the Pickering B nuclear station. The display board is a potential refurbishment, as well as 13 municipal and provincial and 12 community interest presentations.

Integrated Safety Reviews (ISR) required for regulatory approval of refurbishment.

In January 2008, OPG submitted an EA Study Report to the Canadian Nuclear Safety Commission. The study concluded that no significant environmental effects will result from the plant's refurbishment or its continued operation. The next phase of the process is with the CNSC and includes preparation of an EA Screening Report, a public review, and CNSC hearings.

The large amount of work required to complete the EA and ISR activities is taking longer to complete than expected. OPG is therefore unlikely to decide on Pickering B's refurbishment until late 2008 or early 2009.

Darlington refurbishment

In 2006, OPG also will begin work on assessing the potential refurbishment of the Darlington nuclear station.

Nuclear new build process continues

OPG also continued with the federal approval process for new nuclear units at its Darlington site. A Project Description was submitted to the CNSC in April. Field work on preparing background data for performing an EA began in late summer.

In June, the CNSC announced that the EA had begun and in January 2008 recommended to the Federal Environment Minister that the project be referred to a review panel.

In late 2007, OPG and Bruce Power completed a joint operator's assessment of reactor designs for possible deployment at Ontario. The results were provided to the Ontario Government, which is expected to make the technology choice at the end of 2008.

Hydro and gas initiatives go forward

Government directive to OPA will facilitate new hydro development

OPG has three new generation projects under construction. Two had schedule delays, but continue to make progress, while the third is moving ahead on schedule. The projects employ design-build contracts which reduce risk for OPG.

Portlands Energy Centre on schedule

The 550 MW gas-fired Portlands Energy Centre is on schedule and on budget. It should be operating by early June 2008 – available to meet for the higher-demand, summer months. Portlands should be fully operational in high-efficiency, combined cycle mode by the second quarter of 2009.

Niagara Tunnel

By year end, work on the Tunnel had progressed about 8.6 kilometres, which was below target. Progress has been slow through rock conditions encountered under the St. David's Gorge. Schedule uncertainty will remain until the Tunnel Boring Machine moves well beyond this area.

Lac Seul

The 12.5 MW Lac Seul generating station in Northwest Ontario also experienced delays in the second half of 2007. The station is now expected to be finished by the latter half of 2008.

Other hydro projects moving forward

OPG also has a number of other proposed hydroelectric projects in various stages of development. These include a major expansion project on the Lower Mattagami River, representing 450 MW of new hydro capacity and several smaller potential projects. Important developments occurred in December 2007 to help move these projects forward.

• OPG's Board approved redevelopment of four hydro schemes on the Upper Mattagami and Mattson Rivers, and

• work began on expanding OPG's Henley Falls hydro station near Campbellford, Ontario.

In addition, the Ontario Ministry of Energy directed the Ontario Power Authority to negotiate Energy Supply Agreements with

"Here in Ontario, First Nations are becoming major players in the generation of electricity. First Nations communities are now working with Ontario Power Generation... in hydroelectric projects - and are developing future projects."

Phil Fontaine,
National Chief, Assembly of First Nations

OPG's hydro projects at Lac Seul, the Lower and Upper Mattagami, Henley Falls, and Hound Chase. This important decision will greatly facilitate progress on these projects while providing most revenue certainty to OPG.

Building First Nations relationships

In 2007, OPG signed two past agreements with First Nations groups and signed Agreements in Principle with those others to resolve outstanding issues. Negotiations and discussions were conducted with other First Nations communities as well.

Also, in November, OPG's Board approved the Companies Aboriginal Policy.

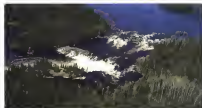
Progress on many of OPG's hydro projects is dependent on resolving successful agreements – including the potential for project participation agreements – with First Nations groups.

Lakeview site's potential

OPG's Lakeview coal-fired station was shut down in 2005 and is a powerhouse developed in June 2007. The site contains an important site in Ontario's electricity system, with the potential to be a location for a gas-fired electricity station.



At OPG's information session in Carleton Place, Ontario, OPG staff discussed the proposed new nuclear units at OPG's Darlington site. Through its public consultations, OPG reached more than 1,500 community residents, employees and members of the public in 2007.



Large dam project in Ontario, OPG's Lac Seul gas-fired power plant is OPG's proposed hydroelectric development. The project would add 12 MW to OPG's hydroelectric capacity.

OPG is committed to financial strength

A financially sustainable OPG benefits the people and government of Ontario

Financial performance improves

OPG's net income in 2007 was \$528 million compared to \$400 million in 2006. Increases in Nuclear Fuel costs, non-nuclear generation revenue, and fuel generation were among the factors that contributed favourably to OPG's higher earnings. Earnings were negatively affected by lower production from the Pickering A and B nuclear stations and by higher maintenance costs in OPG's nuclear and fossil businesses.

OPG Net Income (\$ million)



Efficiency improvements identified

In 2007, OPG undertook a review of the cost structure and work processes of its support functions. A number of potential cost-savings opportunities were identified – a portion of which were built into OPG's 2008 business plan. Disposition of the remaining cost-savings opportunities is now underway.

Rate application filed

The 2008 OPG receives an output from its regulated (i.e., nuclear and baseload hydroelectric) generating sources have not increased in three years. These rates are accurate for 60 per cent of OPG's generation.

In November 2007, OPG filed a rate application with the Ontario Energy Board seeking a rate increase on production from its regulated assets. If approved, this would increase typical residential electricity bills by about 3 per cent annually.

The additional revenue from a rate increase would enable OPG to continue to improve the performance of its regulated assets. It would also help OPG to undertake new generation projects that will provide Ontarians with much needed power to support future economic growth.

Price mitigation continues

OPG receives fixed prices on production from its regulated assets and is subject to a revenue cap on the majority of production from its unregulated assets. As a result, the average price OPG receives is below

Ontario's market price. While this structure holds down the price of power in the province, it reduces revenues that could strengthen the business. In 2007, OPG received an average price of 6.6 cents per kilowatt hour for its electricity production. In contrast, the average Ontario electricity market price was 5.1 cents.

Ontario Electricity Price: 2007 (¢/kWh)



The Dargatzis Unit 2 outage was completed on November 18 – four days ahead of schedule. This cut \$600 to OPG's bottom line and provided enhanced reliability to better meet Ontario's electricity needs.



Where to go for more information about OPG

General information, including press releases, speeches and financial, environmental and safety information: www.opg.com

Employment and career opportunities: www.myopgcareer.com



the ones that existed before the 1967 war but he thinks that Israel will only ever agree to what he describes as "a state of coexistence" – a fragmented patchwork of territory, not rounded by Israeli settlements. The Palestinians should continue to negotiate in earnest until the end of the year, he says. But, if by that time, a viable state is not an option, they should change course, disavow the Palestinian Authority, and ask Israel to formally annex the West Bank.

"I would say, 'Come, and settle wherever you want,'" he said. "Do you think that the settlement policy is one-way? It's an intractable issue. Do you think you can put all the settlements you require having all these conditions and not be engaged with the Palestinians? Now, you break the roads and you can have

LIVING WITH ROCKETS Attacks in Sderot, 60 km from Gaza, nearly kill his family.



enemies. But for how long can you continue with this if the end result is not a better state? We should tell Israel that 'Do whatever you want. Put as many settlements as you want, wherever you want. And we're not going to talk to you, from now until 20 years

But after 20 years, we will go to the table. We will have a model of South Africa. What are you going to do?'"

Baron might as well have been quoting Zelman Arie, the Israeli politician and Zionism leader who, following Israel's victory in the Six Day War, warned against keeping the territory it had conquered. "I'm telling you plainly that we don't need the West Bank," he said. "We will do more harm than good. We will choke on it."

The settlers and their supporters, though politically powerful, represent a small minority of Israeli society. Most Israelis favour a two-state solution. Israel's diverse political landscape, which results in perpetually fragile governing coalitions, makes it difficult for politicians to move this agenda as speedily as they wish in a volatile world.

The other major obstacle stems from the Palestinian side. Politically, Palestinians are divided between Fatah, which favours negotiating a two-state solution, and Hamas, an offshoot of the Islamic Muslim Brotherhood, which does not. Fatah controls the West Bank, and Hamas now controls the Gaza Strip, where the Israeli army has been involved in several deadly clashes with Hamas during the past weeks. Many Israelis fear that any deal signed with Hamas would be meaningless because the deal would be with Hamas and not with the Palestinians and would be too weak to deliver a peace deal opposed by Hamas.

This was always seen as an insurmountable problem. In 2004, then Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon proposed that Israel could unilaterally withdraw, or "disengage," from Gaza and parts of the West Bank. Israel removed all its soldiers from Gaza the following year. It now faces daily rocket attacks from the territory. "Three or four years ago, the thinking was that we could pull out and have peace," says Mark Regev, a senior Israeli foreign policy analyst. "But now we're in a different world. The fear is that we're in a different world."

Most of the rockets launched from Gaza target Sderot, a working-class city whose residents are increasingly disenchanted at Sharon, Kadish's brother and former immigration minister. He endured thousands of attacks since the 2005 disengagement from Gaza, and they are ongoing. On the day Kadish's sister, a 14-year-old girl, was seriously injured, she was driving into the city. There is no time to react before a distant explosion is heard, the sound of a chaotic explosion. The rockets, crude, homemade, and imprecise

able to aim well, have killed at least 11 people in and around Sderot – a small number of victims given the quantity of attacks. But the psychological damage has been severe. Many children suffer from traumatic stress syndrome, says Neta Shmueli, the executive director of a social service agency in Sderot. To call it post-traumatic stress disorder is not accurate, he notes, because the stress is ongoing. Homes are usually equipped with gas masks and doors. In some homes, everyone sleeps there. "It's impossible to have a normal family life," Shmueli says.

"My daughters are always asking why we don't leave. They say, 'You come here for holidays, but you don't come for the rest of the year in Tel Aviv.' We're a family that loves each other, but we can't live in the same place. One of my girls asked me, 'If I get married, can we have Sderot?'" said Yotam Shmueli, one of the girls' fathers. "Why are you asking?"

The February 3, 2008, rocket launch from Gaza destroyed Yotam Shmueli's yard, tore off the top of his car's trunk, hit the wall of his house, and exploded into his living room. His wife and three daughters were home at the time. He was talking to his wife on the phone when the red alert siren sounded and she quickly hung up. All survived. He credits a Madrasa reporter who ran his house and apologized for the state of his couch, the Quran, destroyed the old ones, he says, and he was not the wrong replacement. Adam, a lawyer whose family emigrated from Poland and Russia during the 1920s, remembers that unique in Sderot. He could likely be successful anywhere in Israel but has chosen to live here as part of an urban kibbutz in which all members pool their incomes for the good of the collective. Adam says his seven-year-old daughter is having a difficult time dealing with the attack. "She's getting a shock, a psychologist for kids," he says. "She's doing paintings and stories about the Gazans. It helps. She's very strong."

Almost losing his family has not dented Adam's belief in the possibility of peace. He had hoped there would be a window for negotiations after Israel's withdrawal from Gaza, and admits the escalating rocket attacks that came instead have been "traumatizing." Still, he believes that negotiations are both possible and necessary. "It's a long process of trying to understand each other's suffering," he says. "If seven-year-old girls grow up coping with the other side as human beings, maybe in 10 years we have a settlement. They might die a better job than us."

Despite the ongoing, low-level war with Hamas, Israel may ultimately be forced to negotiate with the Islamist movement. For the time being, it is trying to believe

Dov Charney's antics helped build a retail empire. Now they may be destroying it.

BY JASON KIRBY AND NANCY MACDONALD

Like most people, CEOs generally prefer to keep the pain of their success out of the headlines. For Dov Charney, the Montreal-born founder of American Apparel, wearing a campaign of sexual shock and awe helped transform his company into a global clothing empire. From boasting about sitting his clients on tripwires—"You get across a nation of chicks," he told a reporter while "big chicks, little chicks, big-assed chicks, big-assed chicks"—to openly talking about masturbation and threesomes with his staff, Charney's excesses only reinforced the shock image among young, urban hipsters. American Apparel became the anti Gap, and it's been wildly successful. In just five years the company has spread 337 stores in 15 countries, with sales of US\$387 million.

There were the confessions, when the Los Angeles-based company enjoyed the relative privacy of being privately owned. In December, American Apparel went public, bringing in tens of millions of dollars to fuel its bold expansion plans. But the move also invited the scrutiny of investors, lawyers and securities regulators. Now American Apparel's shares are in free fall, and investors are growing frustrated with Charney's wispy ways. The sudden collapse of confidence in one of reality TV's hottest brands says a lot about the dangers that arise when flamboyant entrepreneurs and stragglers along Wall Street types collide. More than that, though, it begs the question—what in the book were people thinking when they gave Dov Charney their money in the first place?

If investors didn't know about the company's scandalous CEO, they weren't paying attention. In January American Apparel was in court to fight a sexual harassment suit, the fourth in three years. (Of the previous three, one was dismissed and two others were settled out of court.) A former sales representative alleges Charney told a meeting with her wearing only a strategically placed sack. The company has denied the accusations, but its insurer has refused to pay any damages that may arise from the case.

Then, last week, Charney was quoted in

The World's Weirdest CEO

the *Wall Street Journal* bragging off various financial concerns, such as the fact that when the company was private, it had no net worth as a result. What's more, he called his chief financial officer "a complete jerk." Charney later said he'd been misunderstood, but the damage was already done, and it added to mounting unease among investors and some workers who wonder whether Charney is a mad genius of capital, or merely mad. (Charney declined to be interviewed for this story.) In December, American Apparel's stock had plunged more than 70 per cent, wiping out nearly \$150 million in market value. "The American Apparel concept has been tested all over the U.S., Canada and internationally, and it works," says a fund manager who owns shares in the company. "But Dov is really a loopy guy. Our belief is that will be moderated."

If terms still seemed toiling the prices of a business while at the same time enjoying

big day amounts about the own responsible for its success, that's just one of the many contradictions of Charney's dramatic rise to adobe fashion mogul. Born in Montreal's tiny anglophone enclave of Westmount (his uncle is famed author Mordecai Richler), as a teenager he'd lost touch of his roots back from the U.S. to school on the California coast. After trying, and failing, to start a clothing manufacturer off the ground in South Carolina, Charney set out for L.A. and a fresh start. Some where between the beaches of the California and California, he made a key discovery: girls were wearing boys' T-shirts in crop tops that hugged their figures. At the time, the imported apparel industry, which supplies businesses with blank shirts to put their logos on, was pumping out heavy, bulky-looking shirts. So Charney retired the faded size and bodice of the sweaters, but in soft, flannel fabrics and bright colors. With the backing of a savvy Korean-born businessman, and

loan from his father Morris Charney, a prominent Montreal architect, American Apparel's tiny T-shirts were soon in hot demand.

From there, Charney exploded offshore overnight and set up a factory in downtown L.A., paying his mostly Latino workforce twice the minimum wage. With thousands of textile jobs being sent to Mexico and overseas, American Apparel stood out for its rare approach to manufacturing. The move was back from anti-sweatshop activists and proponents like Lee DeBrie. What's more, it earned the company coverage from *Time*, *People* and *Rolling Stone* in its first look at the market behind the company—and what a look it was. The company's casual, urban style was trendy, yellow-trimmed aviator glasses, bushy curtain chop sideburns, severe side parts and other references to the dirty '70s. When he talked, it was at a machine-gun clip, in often rambling elliptical sentences.

Of course, American Apparel's head has been able to do, and say, pretty much anything he wanted, since he and his business partner owned the company outright. But even then, there were limits, and Charney found ways to glacially cross them. He often boasted about leading employees and using the press

rather than use authorized models, American Apparel ads feature young employees, interns and people he picks off the street. The suggestive and frequently inflammatory ads, showing young men and women, in sexual poses and lewd stances, made a name of Polaroid sex, amateur porn. Gradually the anti-sweatshop message got pushed aside. "They had great posters in their store windows, talking about business ethics and environmental concerns," says former American Apparel employee Jo Maynard. "That's what appealed to me. They stamped that as soon as they got big. So we sell even intellectual arguments every time."

And sell it does. Five years after making the jump into the world of retail, American Apparel's logo has T-shirts, dresses, pants and underwear that he found from New York to Tokyo. The company has plans to open another 45 stores this year, while also making good on its pledge to the planet with more than 100 American Apparel stores. At times Charney has even made a show of getting into book publishing, automobile design and anything else that interests him during the semesters of globally, urban consumers. In short, the company's third-year CEO has become a star

of fashion trends and marketing savvy outweighed the risk from his outlandish behavior. But with the stock price plunging, and shareholders growing restless, some think Charney should have kept his head down and let the company prosper. "Some people are not so keen to be in company, some people, private companies," says Howard Dandowitz, chairman of Dandowitz & Associates, a New York investment banking firm that specializes in the retail sector. "Going public is the thing that put him into the limelight. When you founder a company, you can't act crazy. The more you use the company reputation, the more you put it on the line."

Charney isn't the first entrepreneur to struggle once past under the investor spotlight. It takes drive and an overpaid ego to bring a thriving business to life. Private business need to worry about any one thing that their products are received in the market. Listing your shares on the stock market opens up a host of new concerns: quarterly financial reports to the public, conference calls with analysts, meetings with fund managers and the scrutiny of regulators. So don't you have to do it well financially, you have to project modesty and transparency? Yet Charney made it clear years ago that if American Apparel ever listed its shares, investors should be prepared to put up, and shut up. "I want to do it on my own terms," he told *Rolling Stone's* Charlie Rose in 2006, when asked if an IPO was a possibility. Charney asked Rose how his company would meet all regulatory requirements, but he had a clear warning for his future shareholders: "I don't want to be told what to do. If we go public, we'll be on the right conditions." He'll put it down for the point, the first part of Charney's mission includes a giant caveat: he, middle finger pointed to the sky. But Charney's decision to go public may have been more a matter of necessity than choice.

With racy ads and retro styles, American Apparel became the anti-Gap

the company to find additional financing. At least two startups were made to borrow funds privately, but those were smaller. At the same time the company was under a lawsuit, it was expanding its retail business, its exports Big name manufacturers such as Fruit of

the Lovers' clothing. "When everyone is doing everyone else," he never said, "it's good for [all] of us." In the minds of many, though, Charney went from social libertarians to prevent in 2004 when he re-narrated repeatedly in front of a female journalist, who suggested Charney had also received one sex from an employee in his presence. Yet, no matter how outrageously belittled, the company continued to attract legions of loyal customers.

Not content to be a mere middleman in the clothing industry, American Apparel began to roll out its own branded retail stores in 2003. With the company targeting customers directly, he stepped up the sexual nature of American Apparel's advertisements. Charney shoots many of the photos himself, often in bedrooms of his L.A. mansion. And



CHARNEY'S team and graphic discussions about sex have made investors nervous

GROOM YOUR WORK TEAM THE CIA WAY
Chad Huggins was willing to participate in a Provo, Utah, real estate ad-hoc company's team-building exercise. But he says it descended into what he says had never, by his opinion, and a lot of other people, been a good idea: a game of water balloons. He and his team-building exercise. "The last time we did a team-building exercise," Huggins says, "we did an egg toss."



the Loews and Montelena-based Olden Active, were then began to share out his valuable T-shirts for the important event. And with their low-cost sewing facilities in Mexico and the Caribbean, where workers toil for a fraction of what American Apparel pays its staff, competition is fierce. "Who else is the backbone that built American Apparel's business," says a venture capitalist familiar with the apparel industry. "The question is can they get the new [brand] ship built before the old [wholesale] ship sinks!"

Still, all port Chamney on dealer ground than he might have hoped. The reverse take-over, in which a publicly traded retail company with jobs of cash has cooperations bought American Apparel, injected US\$125 million into the business, and left Chamney still holding a majority stake. Not surprisingly, investors are beginning to push for Chamney to step aside and let a seasoned executive take the helm. "Onward management is brought in to run companies off the net, and it would make a lot of sense here," one investor says. For instance, Chamney could assume a creative director role, while

a more brand CEO could take over day-to-day management of the business. "That's been suggested to him. The question really is 'will Dow agree to it?'"

Serif, it's a no-go, but there are signs Chamney has been trying to clean up his act without being seen as selling out. Gone are the outlandish trends and exquisites. According to one news report, the company has stopped displaying tapes of porn magazines

Pressure is rising for Chamney to step aside: 'He's a very brilliant guy,' says one investor. 'But I don't think you need him.'

like Playboy and GQ in its stores. And he's been quick to dismiss talk of his unethical exploits as inflated exaggerations. Chamney's heavily buzzed down, but it's not likely he'll be posting naked ads in advertisements for American Apparel, something he did, years ago, as a gay magazine.

There is an argument to be made that American knew exactly what they were getting when they bought American Apparel shares. Chamney has never tried to hide his

free-spirited lifestyle. But experts say that won't matter if the stock continues to fall. Company executives live in fear of shareholder lawsuits. And with Chamney's history of antics, the sexual harassment allegations, and his propensity to thumb his nose at critics, there's plenty for investors to be upset about. "When a company is so infused with a particular person, there is a risk in getting rid of them," says John Challenger, CEO of Challenger, Gray & Christmas, a Chicago executive search firm. "But when a stock goes down 35 per cent, any CEO's days are numbered."

Whichever team the question would there be an American would there be an American? It's difficult to separate the two, co-opted as they are. The company's own securities filings suggest Chamney is impracticable, adding the company is "indefinitely concerned" to the brand and is the principal driver behind its "core concepts." But the language also cited the company lacks basic expertise in generally accepted accounting principles, which illustrates the control concentration at the heart of the company, and why it is both a moral phenomenon and a profitably risky stock. Even in American Apparel has grown into a business with nearly 7,000 employees, Chamney will photograph models (naked) while taking a lead role in creating new designs for instance, during a recent conference call, he talked about a year-long project he's been working on to design a new golf shirt. Yet the company's financial shareholders aren't buying it. "It's a very brilliant guy, but I don't think you need him to grow the business," says the fund manager "Boe Hall" Mickey Dwyer (the highly regarded CEO of retailer J. Crew) and ask him, if he bought American Apparel, would he still need Dow Chamney? The answer would be unequivocally "No." (Dwyer couldn't be reached for comment.)

As Chamney works to rebuild confidence in American Apparel, he has created this he is a new type of executive, for a new generation of customers—young, plugged in and urban in the core. Forget the way capitalism was done before. That's old school. Chamney has and he's pursuing a "topper-capitalist socialist fusion," something, presumably, Wall Street could never hope to understand. But the truth is the people he desperately needs to win over now are his disgruntled investors. And they just happen to be more prone to talk (or not) and affiliates like Baby Blye Fitted than Steve T-shirts and organic underwear. American Apparel's future depends on finding those two worlds together. The question is Dow Chamney the man to do it? ■

It's official: money buys happiness



STEVE MARCH

About seven years ago, I wrote an article that answered one of the most interesting questions in modern Western society: can money buy happiness?

The debate is timeless, and yet it remains amazingly heated. Many of us tend to react to this notion out of hand. And though most of us say we'd rather be happy than rich, we can't shake the sense that we'd feel a little better with a little more cash on hand.

And so, economists and academics keep coming back to the money-happiness equation in hopes of finding some definitive answer. As I found out, dig in to all that study and you'll come away with the kind of heavily qualified answer that doesn't much help Does money buy happiness? Well, yes. Sort of. But not really. Or, at least, not always.

For years, the dominant theme in the field was a phenomenon known as "the Easterlin paradox," after the University of Pennsylvania economist Richard Easterlin, who first started writing about wealth and happiness in the early 1950s. It was based on the observation that while people living in richer countries are happier, on average, than those living in poorer countries, it wasn't clear that more money led to greater happiness on an individual level. Easterlin argued that greater economic growth doesn't lead to more happiness, and that governments have sacrificed our well-being in a misguided pursuit of a rising standard of living.

Subsequent studies suggested that the thing that really matters is relative wealth—it's not enough to be rich; to be happy, one must be richer than those around them—and that our focus on wealth creates a so-called "hedonic treadmill" in which we must consume more and more in order to maintain a constant level of satisfaction.

Interesting, sure. But now it appears all that was just modified thinking, arising from murky data.

A new study from Felicity Stevenson and Justin Wolfers, both economists at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Business, takes a closer look at a raft of new and old data, and its conclusions couldn't be more stark: forget the caveats, the qualifications, and most jarring of all—forget the paradox. All around the world, money and happiness are inextricably and unambiguously

linked: the more dough you have, the happier you're likely to feel.

As Wolfers went last week on the New York Times' Personals blog, "There are Easterlin Paradoxes. 1) Rich people are happier than poor people. 2) Richer countries are happier than poorer countries. 3) As countries get richer, they tend to get happier."

So how could we have been so wrong for so long? That's where things get intriguing. For one thing, happiness is a pretty tricky thing to measure. Back in the days when



Money is freedom. What you do with it is up to you.

Easterlin first started canvassing this question, he was relying on a hodgepodge of international surveys. Some asked people if they were "very happy," merely "satisfied," or "unhappy." Others asked people to rank their happiness on a scale of one to five, or one to seven, or one to 10. Drawing definitive conclusions from that kind of data is bound to be pretty shaky.

Gallup asked the measurement problem last year by asking people in 172 countries an identical question as part of a worldwide poll. They asked people to imagine a ladder or a mountain with steps from one to 10, leading

upward. At the top of the ladder (step 10) was perfect happiness, with the bottom (step one) being utter despair. Gallup then asked people what step they felt they were on. The results revealed a strong and undeniable link between wealth and well-being, both at a national and individual level.

But there was also a basic scientific error that clouded this question for years.

Research and many others in the field confirmed a lack of positive evidence as proof of the contrary. For example, think about the scientists searching for a cure for life expectancy. So far, we have no truly convincing evidence that there's a link out there in the cosmos. But that lack of evidence does not prove that on such life issues, just because we haven't found the link doesn't mean it doesn't mean they're not out there, somewhere.

Similarly, when researchers had trouble finding any compelling statistical evidence linking wealth with happiness, they mistakenly concluded that as such link exists, then that mistake may have arisen from the fact that step-down, the researchers didn't really want to find a link.

Happiness research is more than merely interesting, it influences the way we see and often public policies. Economists and others have argued for decades that government's preoccupation with economic growth is misguided, and that more attention should be paid to fostering social well-being. Understandably then, Easterlin said his work that he remains unconvinced by Stevenson and Wolfers' new research.

The problem is that the question has been clouded by generations of positional thinking, that equated wealth with good. But the two are not the same. Indeed, the desire to be rich isn't really a purely selfish pursuit.

Last month, a University of British Columbia Harvard Business School study found more evidence that people with more money tend to be happier. But they found that the greatest happiness was achieved by those who give away the highest proportion of their wealth. The ability to give money away is a luxury that many of us aspire to, at least as much as the bigger house and the luxury car. Generosity, in other words, is a value that isn't diminished by affluence, it is more often enhanced by it.

Money is inextricably linked with happiness because money provides freedom and power. What we do with that freedom and power is all about our personal values. And on closer examination, our values are not nearly so selfish as the world might fear.

To be content with money means to be happy. And that's not such a bad thing. ■

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A WILTED FLOWER

Guy Lafleur was a hockey god. Now, it's his role as indulgent father to a troubled son that's on trial. BY MARTIN PATRINO

For a moment, it might have been 30 years ago.

Guy Lafleur took a grimace on his own nose and stared up the right side of the ice, with his hair, streaking past a befuddled referee. At the top of the circle he let loose his blistering slapshot. It hit the back of the net before the goalie even saw it, a mere nine seconds into the match.

"The crowd just got what they paid for," remarked Steve Sharr, Lafleur's former line-

mate with the Montreal Canadiens. Never mind that this was a charity match between NHL veterans and a team of police officers, and that he'd just scored on a 35-year-old defenseman. Just by showing up on that frigid night last winter, Lafleur warranted Lescaroux, "Mr. Smart," and the 2,000 people in the stands chanted "Guy! Guy! Guy!" like it was the gospel.

Two weeks later, in a eerily different scene, Lafleur sat in a Montreal courtroom in support of his son, Mark, on trial for assault,

criminal harassment and striking threats against the parents of his ex-girlfriend. The girl, who can't be identified because she was 15 at the time, sues out to meet Mark, then age 30, on Boxing Day 2004. Her father gave chase, and a scuffle ensued.

While Mark bore the assault and harassment charges, the judge found him guilty of threatening the girl's mother. "You and your husband are f---ing crazy," Mark said in a phone message, according to the mother's attorney. "I'm going to kill you, you're going

to die." (He received a \$900 fine and was placed on probation.)

Guy Lafleur led the court's cheer. "I'm happy," he told *Le Presse*. "There are other things coming but we'll take them one by one, in [former Canadiens coach] Claude Rueland to say 'And the death threat?' You know, we think it makes sense to our youth," he shrugged, then walked off.

Spectacular goals and mythic nonchalance: it is what has endeared Lafleur to an entire generation of hockey fans. He was, and remains, the personification of his plucky, impassioned, dazzling, the staunch individualist with a sense of entitlement to match "Hockey's first rock star," as critic Mark Lepage once wrote.

His strong legacy continues to this day, even though he hasn't played professional hockey in 17 years. His column in *Le Journal de Montreal*, in which he regularly browbeats Canadiens players and management for a litany of shortcomings, is among the paper's most popular. He is about to open a hockey-themed restaurant that will trade heavily on his enduring glory. He has been a paid pitchman for, among others, Vogue, Harbin and the Redgrave Battery Recycling Corporation. In one ad promoting

new legislation... He supported his son, without judging him. That is a real father."

Lafleur, meanwhile, says the police and the prosecutors personally have it out for him because he is famous. "I think my case is being handled the way it has because I'm Guy Lafleur," he told *Montreal* recently. "I mean, how many cases are there like mine and people don't speak about it?" (Lafleur is expected to court this week.)

The famous Lafleur's defiance on display again, though this time around there is a hook to the narrative. Apart from his recent conviction for striking threats, Mark Lafleur, now 34 years old, faces 24 other charges, including assault, sexual assault, forcible confinement, drug possession, dangerous driving and theft, all of which involve the same distraught young woman he called a girlfriend for four years. A judge recently said there was enough evidence to proceed to trial.

Lafleur won't speak about Mark's upcoming trial, other than to say his son "was" the only one so blame in it. Lafleur also says his son has been afflicted with Bipolar syndrome and attention deficit hyperactivity disorder since he was a child, and has had to suffer through his condition in the public eye. "It's affected the whole family

They say Guy Lafleur ended his son's every whim—Mark had a car, several SUVs, and a generous allowance, they claim. (Lafleur himself admits he was an indulgent father. When his wife, Lise, would say no to Mark, he says, he would usually say yes.) Not acting like that, it won't be helping. Lise or Mark? When I think about it now, I regret having played this game," he told *Le Journal de Montreal* sports columnist Bernard Raymond last year.

The girl's mother says Mark has a continued sense of entitlement thanks to his last name and his father's connections, which she parents say he used liberally. "He always knew that his dad would be there to get him out of trouble," said the father of the young girl outside a courtroom where she was testifying against Mark Lafleur.

"We weren't only fighting Mark. We were fighting Guy as well."

Lafleur arrived in Montreal in 1971, marking both the end of an era and the beginning of a new one. Already a star in Quebec's Major Junior League, he joined the Canadiens just as Jean Beliveau, the pinstriped class and pose on and off the ice,

IN GUY LAFLEUR, Sam Pollack, architect of the Montreal Canadiens' dynasty, saw a player who could become a mythic French Canadian rebel superstar. Lafleur played the role with a grace and toughness that elevated him to folk-hero status, which he still enjoys in Quebec.



proper history disposal, Lafleur plays hockey with a discarded cell phone. Apparently, he can still anything.

The latest court saga with his son has only bolstered his renown in Quebec. Even when he gave extraordinary testimony on the stand about his son's whereabouts while on leave from a drug abuse course—for which Lafleur was charged with giving false testimony—the fans stayed behind him. "Mr. Lafleur chose between two diam," said a typical letter in *Le Presse*. "Support his son or give into a cee-

lessly," says Lafleur of his son's predicament, "but it's getting back on the right track slowly, so that's the main thing." Guy Lafleur himself, meanwhile, is the popular rebel once again. As a player, he often took on the Canadian mainstream when he thought he was being treated unfairly, now, as a father, he is promoting his son against the judicial establishment.

Today, Mark's alleged victim is 25 years old, and her parents say they feel they're caught in an uneven battle with a legend.

announced his retirement. Quebec under went profound changes during Beliveau's tenure as Habs captain—the Quiet Revolution, Sept. 62, the October Crisis—and Lafleur was a superstar to match the new times, a natural goal scorer, but more importantly, a fanboy and irreverent Québécois who liked to drink beer and drive fast, something that would rarely kill him years later.

"Sam Pollack [the Canadiens' general manager] had a project to create this mythic French Canadian rebel with Guy," says

OUR
EXCLUSIVE
SNEAK PEEK
AT CANADA'S
OLYMPIC
UNIFORMS



BEIJING SOUND: Alexandra Orlando models Canada's closing ceremony outfit (left), a lucky eight warmup jacket, and the calico cap



DRESSED TO THRILL

STORY BY JONATHAN DASHWITZ • PHOTOGRAPHS BY TUSH GRIMSHAW

If the number eight really is linked to good fortune (a superstition as ingrained in Chinese culture that the Beijing Olympics will officially open at 8:08:08 p.m., on the eighth day of the eighth month of 2008), Canada's athletes are covered. The lucky number is everywhere on the team's uniforms—boldly proclaimed on shoes and T-shirts, subtly worked into the background of warm-up jackets, right down to the seven-shaped Canadian Olympic Committee patch.

It's just one of many odds the design team at the Phoenix Fly Company, who will officially unveil the Olympic uniforms next week, have made in the team nation's iconography. Canada's mark appears in bamboo flint, and Chinese characters. The ultra-tailored closing ceremony garb (mythic green, black, and white) makes a subtle point, left) raises a single leaf with seven graphs and eight red tapestry prints. A white support of the red under-swept opening ceremony parade outfit—suggests that Mao has taken up cycling. And all the colors in the collection are taken from the five elements of Chinese cosmology: earth, wood, fire, water and metal (in a hopeful gesture, every zip, tab and snap is gold-colored). After making a statement at the 2006 Winter Games in Turin with a shockingly Canadian trapper-chic look, the designers wanted to try something different, says Suzanne Thériault, HBC fashion director. "This time we really wanted to face the two countries together."

Work on the uniforms—HBC's first Sum-

mer Games effort—began in January 2007, as designers scouted in trade and outerwear shows in Paris, L.A. and Munich to research the latest fabrics and technologies. Filly current and former Olympians participated in focus groups, expressing an overwhelming desire: "In Athens, they melted. They couldn't even put on their fleece jackets," says Thériault. "So this time, all the fabrics are super, super lightweight." In keeping with Beijing's "Green Games" goals, designers also kept it natural, using fabrics made from bamboo, and Cocoon, a cooling, odor-resistant yarn treated with the carbon from bamboo charcoal briquets.

While most of the 25 women's 16 garments, and some accessories including leggings, backpacks, and a "E-tube" headband that doubles as a strong, flexible face mask) is what the company is calling the Queen Collection will also be dinged to the public, there are still a few athlete-only surprises in store. To wit, the collection's lead designer along with Vancouver, B.C., promises that Canadians will stand out at "the biggest fashion show in the world." The opening ceremony uniforms—jokingly called the "Wedding Dress" by athletes since they are kept secret until the last possible moment—will be "a full-on high-fashion piece," says Lu. And the outfit that winning Canadian Olympians will wear on the world podium also aims to make a statement. "It's going to be graphic, heavy, and super-lightweight," says Lu. "It's not just a dumb track suit." ■

THE BACK PAGES

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film

Stripped in a blink, a hooded
muzzafar burst out on a cor-
ridor box with his arms out-
stretched, his fingers trailing
elegant white. Among all the

pictures of prisoner abuse snapped by Amer-
ican soldiers at Abu Ghraib prison in Bagh-
dad, this image is the most iconic. It became a
global symbol of American malfeasance in
Iraq, as it reached through the media, find-
ing its way into placards, T-shirts, and the
walls of mosques and art galleries. But as it
turned out, the prisoner who became a sym-
bol of martyrdom—nicknamed Gillespie by his
guards—had never been physically tor-
tured, only humiliated. The middle-class pose
had been staged for the cameras. The scene

provided evidence he'd been mistreated."

In an age where nearly every soldier is
armed with a digital camera, combat pho-
tography has undergone a DIY revolution.
War is now being shot from the inside out. In
the new home-theater of war, the camera is
point and shoot, lock and unload. Soldiers
called and swap their souvenir spoils, creat-
ing a virtual WarTube of military resistance.
But the camera can go lost. Exploring con-
text is what *Standard Operating Procedure* is
about—along with an equally disturbing
book of the same name that New Yorker writer
Philip Gourevitch co-authored with Marks.

"The Abu Ghraib photographs serve as
both an exposé and cover up," says Marks.
"They were embarrassing to the administra-

tion as pornography. A human pyramid of
naked prisoners. A female guard with her naked
arcs on display. But as Marks uncovers the
scenes behind the images, we begin to see
the guards as ordinary people trapped in an
unusual predicament. He argues the soldiers
converted to abuse, the so-called "bad apples,"
were scapegoats—punished not so much for
humiliating Iraqi detainees as for humiliating
the U.S. military.

You might expect that a two-hour movie
documenting torture and abuse in an Iraq
hellhole would be hard to watch, or at least
unpleasant. But Marks is a master of the
seductive image, and what a most disturb-
ing about *Standard Operating Procedure* is
its eerie beauty, which feels almost serene

SHOOTING THE MESSENGER

Errol Morris unearths the stories behind the Abu Ghraib photos and finds the real crimes occurred outside the frame BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON

were not mentioned in an electrical source.
And Gillespie had been given the blanket with
a hole cut out, like a poncho, to keep him
warm, unlike many Abu Ghraib inmates who
were trussed up naked in "stress positions"
prescribed by military intelligence.

Other photographs taken by soldiers at
Abu Ghraib in 2003 revealed far uglier hor-
rors, including the merged corpse of Man-
adel al-Jaradi, an Iraqi detainee who was
killed during a CIA investigation—an act that
went unphotographed and unreported. In
revelation of "about the messenger," Sabrina
Hamman, the U.S. soldier who photographed
the corpse, and posed beside it with a smile
and raised thumb, went to jail for exposing
the crime, while the interrogator who killed
him has not been prosecuted.

That is a central story of our eras from
Standard Operating Procedure, an amazing
documentary about the Abu Ghraib pho-
tographs that has as North American premiere
as Toronto's Hot Docs festival this weekend
and opens commercially next week. It comes
from Errol Morris, the Oscar-winning direc-
tor best known for *The Thin Blue Line* and
The Fog of War. "Photographs exposed and
they conceal," Morris told me in a rare inter-
view. "You see a photograph and you think you
understand what you're looking at. You think
you've seen everything. But you've just seen
what's in the photograph. At first I believed
that Sabrina was implicated in Jaradi's
death. I was wrong. I, too, was fooled by the
smile. Sabrina didn't murder Jaradi. She



MORRIS: "This is a war of sexual humiliation."

ties, to the military, as America—they were
embarrassing to me. They stopped as on-air
tasks. If not for these photographs, many
of the crimes that occurred would have
remained unknown. But they didn't force us
to look further. By the end of 2003, there
were 16,000 prisoners in Abu Ghraib. You're
talking about a place that is inhuman. It's
not one cellblock with a few soldiers. But you
see those photographs and you think that
it's Abu Ghraib—"I've seen it, I know who
they're responsible and I know what they did?"

Morris takes the viewer beyond the frame,
weaving a forensic analysis of the photos with
preliminary interviews of the soldiers who
took them and posed in them. At first the
meaning of the photos seems as grotesque

under the circumstances. There are direct-
ory to the film-making—photo forensic, do-
cumentary re-enactments and interviews—and
they're all mesmerizing.

The photographs are dissected with the
sort of very computer graphics and sound
effects you'd expect in a Hollywood thriller.
There is some animated blueprints of the
cellblock, a high-contrast scene by Danny El-
man (Babur), and a serious investigation
play the high village reconstruction. Defend-
ing his approach, Marks says, "I'm a film-
maker. I want to draw people in with what-
ever means are at my disposal."

The dramatic re-enactments unfold in a
slow-time limbo of gray, drunks like repara-
tion. Morris, a former philosophy Ph.D.
student, has a lingering taste for metaphysics.
And here, making a feast of light and
shadow, he's entranced with drops of water,
streaks of blood, and dust suspended in
golden light above angled floors. The man
never met a dust mote he didn't like.

Morris argues the re-enactments don't
attempt to reproduce reality, but to convey
the "unimaginable." He identifies former
Sgt. Tony Diaz, who was perplexed to see
blood drip onto his uniform after a hood was
lifted off a detainee, blood that he says he
had nothing to do with. Marks says "that
deeply disturbed me—it made me wonder
about the nature of complicity in war, my
own included."

The threat of the film's narrative is driven
by interviews, conducted in the director's



trademark style. Jansard is surely in close ups, where she speaks directly to the camera with a confidential intimacy. Morris has a knack for securing trust and conjuring charisma. He delivers charisma that we're happy to spend time with. With piercing eyes and glower cheeks, he's the person's former commanding officer James Ramirez has the raging ferocity of a Venetian Redgrave in the House's superior. And you could picture Tommy Lee Jones playing Tim Dugan, a convict interrogator who unleashes a withering critique of military intelligence.

But the film's real power lies in its corps of terror portraits of the guards, especially the women, who served jail time for crimes in

collaboration with the military. "The only reason I want to be shown is to get the pictures and prove that the U.S. is not what they think," she wrote. "What if that woman is there?" These people will be our future terrorists.

Horror is a genre that has been left on its side, wrapped in a body bag. Her commanding officer said the man had died of a heart attack. She pulled back bandages to reveal evidence of torture, which the photograph is a macabre portrait. She also posed with the body, offering her own story as a victim. The body, dressed in a sick person with a syringe mask and an IV hook up. Later Jansard's desk was classified as

in some of these photographs—Lyndee with the knife, the portrait, Lyndee pointing at the desk of the Iraqi male. Because of those pictures, Morris had trouble convincing the head of Hollywood's MPAA to give the movie an R-rating, as opposed to a harsher NC-17. "I'm telling her I can't change the photographs because they are central evidence. She says, 'Raging thing, you know horror movies have changed since the war started. It's not enough to kill people any more. Now you have to degrade them and humiliate them.' She mentioned *Seven and Seven*."

Morris has described his own film as "a non-fiction horror movie." But does that mean he's producing a photograph of horror on a grand scale? "I don't feel the abuse

'WHAT'S HERETICAL IS I'VE TRIED TO TURN THEM BACK INTO PEOPLE'



SABRINA HARMAN (left) believed she was imprisoned in Jansard's desert

which they appear to be aware. "I've tried to draw them back from the world of monsterhood," says Morris, noting that these "bad apples" have been demonized by all sides. The left says they are victims because Bush, Cheney and Rumsfeld are rotten. The right says, too, they're rogue soldiers. But the one thing the left and right agree on is that they are rotten. What's heretical is that I've tried to turn them back into people.

He delves into the sad story opens of their private lives—the young Sgt. Lyndee Lingard, falling for Sgt. Charles Grazer, who staged many of the photos, and who made her pregnant only to dump her for her friend, Megan Amshel, now married to Grazer, who's serving a 10-year term for prisoner abuse.

With her radiant smile and air of a little girl, Harman is the film's most intriguing subject. She was known to be incapable of violence, but was fascinated by it in a dark, and by the end, Harman observed photographing prisoners and posed with them. At first she stopped and thought like a teenage adult in some ghoulish carnival. But in letters that she wrote home to a woman she



homicide. Harman's photos were the first evidence of it, and they got her a six-month jail term. Had she been a photojournalist, the night here was a Pulitzer Prize. In fact, before joining the military, Harman, her college classmate, Harman had an ambition to be a forensic photographer.

What made the Abu Ghraib photos so inflammatory, and so controversial, was the role women played in degrading naked inmates. "One of my theories," says Morris, "is that this is a war of sexual humiliation. There was a policy to use American women to humiliate Iraqis. We see it in evidence

in photography," he replies. "The abuse is what the country has done in terms of foreign policy abroad."

Megan Amshel, perhaps after the most brutal explanation of the movie's twisted theme. "The pictures only show you a fraction of a second," she tells the camera. "You don't see forward and you don't see backward. You don't see outside the frame. You don't see beyond the frame and you're always."

ON THE WEB: To read Dean O. Johnson's full interview with David Morris go to www.macleans.ca/terrorism



WE'RE STALKING... AKON

The R&B star created an image as a former inmate. His company is named Konvict Music, reflecting his past as a one-third ringed Akon says he was in jail for more than four years and played alive only through the state criminal. But Konvict Music's last week alleged that his criminal career never got to be a part of his thriving career. Akon once received three years' probation for gun possession. Perhaps his company should be called Konvict Music.

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WITH INCREASING historical awareness, it's become harder for conductors to overlook the fact that music was written for split violas

Where should we put the violins?

A debate over how to place orchestras' string sections heats up the classical music world

BY JAMIE A. WEINMAN • What's the biggest case being played these days? Not a trial of music to play. It's whether your orchestra conductor divides the violins.

Symphony orchestras have two separate violin sections, and there are two ways to seat them: all the violins on the conductor's left, or "divided," with the first violins on the left and second violins on the right. This is becoming a big issue for music fans and critics, after conductor Leonard Slatkin was appointed music director of the Detroit Symphony Orchestra, he wrote a piece for the website *classicalsource.com* responding to "music journalists" who complain about his refusal to divide the violins, explaining that while he would use the scarp technique, forcing the Detroit violins to sit apart from each other "would remove... one of the strongest individual qualities of the group." A simple seating arrangement has become one of the first things conductors think about, because the small choice can have a big effect on music.

Until the mid-20th century, most orchestras were seated with the violin sections on different sides. Most of the classics were written with this arrangement in mind, composers like Beethoven, Tchaikovsky and Mahler composed symphonies where the relationship between the violin sections, like musical ping-pong. Some pieces, like the finale of Beethoven's *Symphony*, depend so heavily on these effects—the physical sensation of hearing a theme moving from one part of the room to the other—that they don't make sense when the violins are all on one side. Long before John Herndon was peering his guitar between speakers, classical composers were doing the same with violins, creating what Anthony Fogg, artistic administrator of

the Boston Symphony Orchestra, calls "a stereophonic effect between the violins."

The reason this seating almost died out in the mid-'70s was that most violins didn't enjoy playing that way. Typically the second fiddles—that's where the term comes from—were not always able to keep in sync with the firsts. Jacques Jacodetich, current co-conductor of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra, which usually keeps the violins together, explains that a large orchestra with divided violins "has difficulties hearing from one violin section to the other, because of the distance, so the ensemble suffers. It is more difficult to play perfectly together, and frustrating to the players." So until recently, most orchestras kept all violins on the left, providing a rich sound but losing the crucial back-and-forth effects in violin-heavy pieces like Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*.

But with the increasing historical awareness in the music world, it's become harder for conductors to overlook the fact that old music was written with the split-violin setup in mind. "There's not much point in using authentic editions of Beethoven's scores, and then seating the orchestra in a way he wouldn't have recognized. As a result, some conductors are adopting the historically correct seating arrangement and getting their ensembles accustomed to it. Kent Nagano used divided

violins in his new Beethoven recordings with the Montreal Symphony Orchestra, which always never used that seating before he arrived. Bernard Haitink, a star conductor in his seventies, pushed to divided violins to record a Beethoven cycle with the London Symphony Orchestra. And James Levine, music director of the Metropolitan Opera and the Boston Symphony Orchestra, always keeps the violins apart. Fogg says that while it's sometimes hard for the Boston violins to hear each other, there are other advantages. "The violins are closer to the bass line, and you get a greater sense of the harmonic flow. In some conductors, including Beethoven, it's easier to balance the violins that way."

Even people outside of the classical world have become curious of the issue. Movie composer Danny Elfman (*James, Spider-Man*) insists on performing his scores with divided violins, noting what his recording engineer Dennis Sandis described to him once as "a beautiful quality where the violins answer one another," but as orchestras become less resistant to the idea, some conductors worry that there might be pressure on them to use fixed seating regardless of what they're playing or where. Slatkin told *MusicRadar* that he's been asked to keep seating his Detroit players "based on what we feel is right for our players and our hall." Controversy, scores of effects, insurance to peer pressure: a simple matter of seating has made classical music a lot messier to conduct—and a lot more fun.

THIS AD HAS A TYPO IN IT. SHOULD WE MAKE THE WRITER PAY TO REPRINT THE ENTIRE NEWSPAPER?



Sounds a little extreme, doesn't it? Yet some of our own laws are just as unfair, and it's hurting business.

The problem is with our legal liability laws. The current system of "joint and several" liability means that a party found partially responsible for damages in a lawsuit can be forced to pay all the damages if no other party can pay their share. That's right, you can be found only one per cent responsible yet end up paying 100 per cent of the damages.

Joint and several liability is an issue because it drives lawyers to name as many parties as possible to lawsuits, which increases costs and complexity. It makes the providers of business advice and services, financial professionals such as accountants, auditors and others, liable for unquantifiable risks if their client suffers a business reversal and is sued. It puts pressure on governments, which often are named as major parties in lawsuits because plaintiffs are seeking out "deep pockets."

With all this liability risk, insurance costs are pressured upward and the increase is being passed on to the public. In some cases, risk avoidance drives companies to turn down business or, in the case of financial professionals, focus their efforts on the safest types of business.

Ontario is preparing the price for having a liability regime that is completely inappropriate for business, resulting in both higher costs and a more risk-averse environment. Ultimately, that means lost opportunities, slower growth, concentrated investment and fewer jobs.

By contrast, most neighbouring U.S. states (and many of our international trading partners) are moving to a system called "proportionate liability" where parties are responsible for their share of the loss—but nothing more. This puts Ontario businesses at a competitive disadvantage.

So let's fix our liability laws and give Ontario companies a chance to grow and prosper. In Canada,

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NICK CAVE & THE BAD SEEDS... HAVE SOMETHING TO SAY. Every night his next high up in the autumn branches / Build from nothing but high hopes & thin air / He collected up some dusty-blinded mothers / They took their chances / And for a while they built quite happily up there / He came from New York City, but he couldn't take the pace / I thought I was like the cheap-shop world / Then he went to San Francisco / Didn't stay in either space—from Dixie's Lazzaro Dixie from the album of the same name

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books



FREE BOOKS: Doctorow puts his wiles where his mouth is, publishing his fiction in book form, but also posting it for free on his site

Scourge of the corporate pirates

The artist's enemy is obscurity, not piracy, says novelist and Web activist Cory Doctorow

BY BRIAN KETTER • "No, no, Marisa is more impressionist than autobiographical," laughs Cory Doctorow about the 17-year-old hero of his newest science-fiction novel, *Little Brother* (Jetta). Principled, literate, clever and, above all, technologically savvy, Marisa goes potty in his shoes to foil his school's "evil" recognition software, then with friends uses an IMF virtual messaging program, and takes on the Department of Homeland Security's Canadian surveillance system in the name of liberty. "It's the sort of world we all would have liked to have been," says Doctorow, 36, who nevertheless bristles at the thought that Marisa is too unrealistic. "People have said, 'Chris, as a teenager read Jane Jacobs'," he read Jane Jacobs when I was a teenager."

The don't have to talk long with Doctorow to be astonished by this statement. The child of Toronto schoolteachers, armed once for civil disobedience before he was 15, at 16 came with Dickens and Thoreau as well as the hard-boiled icons of commerce, culture and technological innovation. Doctorow would get the benefits of the double if he claimed to have read Plato as well as Arthur Penn's *Bonnie and Clyde*, while his mother, Rita, looks after his 11-week-old daughter, Popsy. Doctorow talks about how he is as much cyberspace activist and blogger as author (his blog, *BoingBoing.net*, is one of the Internet's most influential tech commentary sites.) "I'm a professional Cory Doctorow: I write novels and I write blog entries, but all of it is a service of taking care of thirty technology-savvy teenagers and seeing to it that they don't get lost."

For a decade Doctorow has campaigned, often quietly in Marisa's endogenous hacker mode, for copyright liberalization and against governments' attempts to monitor the Internet, as well as corporate plans to maintain vast databases of cybernetic. The question to ask about any intellectual property rights regime, he says, is "does it encourage or discourage involvement, an making, information sharing?" In his opinion, the current system only serves corporate interests, "big dying institutions." They use copyright to regulate technology, to create value (or at least to make a profit on it) all the time to the detriment of the "Internet's greatest achievement: lowering the cost of your collaboration, the barrier to innovation."

It adds up to an eternal and futile struggle to throttle the need to want to change. Long before then-acting publisher fought second readers (who later failed to read his books), who complained of TV and so on, books who produced newsworthy news during the printing press, the don't's engine. What's particularly pulling for Doctorow is that "yesterday's pirate is today's admiral—Song, the VCR pirate, denounced by universities as a guarantee of piracy, has come full circle to sue Napster's users." Of course, universities don't—especially wealthy ones—want to live on, even just their times. Doctorow admits he feels "I used to be a pirate, and there was always somebody who didn't want the right to end. But there comes a time when you have to put the claim up on the table."

Doctorow puts his own wiles where his mouth is. The fiction comes out in conventional book form, but he also posts it for free on his site, *Cyberpunk.com*. That leads to the one question everyone wants to ask Doctorow: how do you make a living? "Most of my income comes from advertising on BoingBoing, but the free releases have helped me financially by increasing my profile. Little Brother has brought me my largest advance yet. Everyone who has tried posting books online has done it again. That's a pretty good indicator it works. An artist's enemy is obscurity, not piracy." It's not to say, Doctorow adds, copyright makes much money for many content providers beyond a "very loud" handful of the "very rich and very famous."

The old regime, Doctorow argues, is fixed to stay, whenever might replace it. "The most interesting discussion building up now is how do we get stable institutions where, at any moment, new technologies can render those obsolete." The response for the author is the same as it is for his character: In *Little Brother*, whenever Marisa is faced with unpleasant answers, he subverts the question. "Stability is overrated," Doctorow says. "Our cultural institutions, whose purpose—arguably the purpose of all institutions even—is to facilitate collective action, so do things one-handed and can't, will now be crippled on an ad hoc basis, to put away what we need." Time to put your claim up on the table. ■

FINALLY, A BOOK ABOUT... PALESTINE'S LAST ZOO
The Zoo on the Road to Hebron (Pamela) by Amalia Thomas tells the extraordinary story of the only surviving Palestinian zoo, its aquatic vet, Dr. Sami Khader, and his quest for an international coalition zoo in the middle of an endemic war zone. The *Geziye Zoo* (2005) is both a technological reality, and a metaphor for normalcy. "Khader's desire to finally, finally, live in an ordinary country. As he tells Thomas, "Does it all normal countries have zoos?"

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MICHAEL'S MAY 5, 2006

Floral patterns by Prince Charles

The Prince of Wales has launched a new line of high-end, handcrafted housewares

An obsession with details is one of the hallmarks of Charles's new enterprise. Robinson searched for six months before finding a firm in northern Italy capable of manufacturing the sensually curvaceous Pagani-style seats. One of Tradicional Arts' most popular tableware designs is a floral pattern called *Keweenaw*.

being sold as a member of select British social elite as well as directly to clients in the Middle East. Robert Palmer, home accessories buyer for the upscale British department store Selfridges, reports that the design firm's "traditional tableware, handblown glassware and high price point is popular with our international customers from the Middle East and Russia." High buyers are a necessary thread made elite behind Traditional Arts scenes that a single dinner plate starts at around \$200. "It was an deliberate ploy to start in the high end," explains Robinson, "and then

Robinson has planned out a huge retail expansion: "We have a three-year plan to create a premium home luminaires collection. Our starting [point] was tableware, but by the end of this year we'll have a wonderful silk collection—scarves and tea—and cufflinks and a furniture collection for the spring of next year." Still, the made-to-order side of the business accounts for more than half of sales and in the world of bespoke, the sky is the limit: the spring season's new frames limited-edition Rodin's *Prophet* lanterns, custom designed by Rodin's Art. And for a price.

Cinnamon with an aroma of lemon

Move over wine, coffee. The newest passion is for vintage-dated, single-estate spices.

in Jean Talon Market in Montreal and, as of this month, Cole Seal of the About Cheese shop in Toronto will launch a sort of affluence quadrangle—with about 50 different spices, peppers and chiles from de Vienne. It's La Déesse's first venture beyond Quebec.

There is an entire world of discovery, such as the differences between real cinnamon and Indonesian place-and-in, rasta. Cinnamon has four essential oils, cinnamon one, so while cinnamon is "just hot and spicy," de Vries says.

The long pepper was once an occasional condiment in the black-peppercorn, but less frequent in the West hundreds of years ago. It has since well beyond "hot," including what Bouquard describes as "nutritious/roasty flavor" a lovely, earthy-warm taste. Says de Vienne: "Sure it costs more. But we're talking about spending 25 cents to get a really great pepper on your stalk." ■



WHAT THEY GOT FOR IT **FREAK SHOW PHOTOS**
Recently unearthed portraits by iconic New York photographer Diane Arbus were to be hung on sale in early April. In 2002, collector Bob Langley paid \$3,500 for a job of material from his Times Square fixie circus. Inside it were photos, later authenticated as Arbus's, of performers like trapeze champion Princess Seltoso. They were expected to fetch over \$1 million at auction, but a lawsuit from the trapeze seller has put the sale on hold for now.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *Current Population Reports*, 1990.

Amongst the, de Vries has become a local legend. With his travelling show for the first he recently dropped in on Ottawa's Urban Element, a culinary school and cooking space. The pupils tasted 300 species in a three-hour marathon, while learning the basics of what to look for. "He really taught me about how to eat white," says owner Carlos Schulze.

They're not pots, they're dinner. A French designer has created an ecosystem in which to grow edible fish. "Local River" is partly an art project and partly a proposal to capitalize on the local food trend. It consists of six interactive ecosystems that let fish grow to dinner-size right in your own home. It also grows a salad accompanied with vegetables inside floating pots whose roots purify the water for the fish.





THE BURNING OF THE REICHSTAG: In February 1933, Hitler didn't need to use the fire as a pretext to 'seize' dictatorial power, says Steyn

Please send more complaints

Otherwise how will our taxpayer-funded hate police manage to keep their cozy sinecure?



MARK STEYN does not share the accusation of "improper investigative techniques" by yours truly. Steyn, she writes, "provides no substantiation for these claims," and then concludes:

"Why is this all important? Because words are important. Says would have to believe that words, however hateful, should be given free rein. History has shown us that hateful words sometimes lead to hateful actions that under mine freedom and have led to unspeakable crimes. That is why Canada and most other democracies have enacted legislation to place reasonable limits on the expression of hatred."

History has shown us that hateful words can easily lead to hateful actions that undermine freedom and have led to unspeakable crimes." Conservative Lynch provides, as he would say, "no substantiation for those claims," but then she has a "tiny apocryphal anecdote," as we know, Canada's "human rights" procedures aren't subject to unreasonable requirements like evidence. So she's made an argument from authority, the great Queen's Counsel has risen from her throne in the Star Chamber and pronounced, and let that suffice. Those of us who occupy less exalted positions in the realm might wish to consider the evidence for her assertions.

It's true that "hateful actions that under mine freedom" and lead to "unacceptable crimes" usually have some fig leaf of intellectual justification. For example, the ideology first articulated by Karl Marx has led to

the deaths of millions of people around the planet on an unprecedented scale. Yet oddly enough, no matter how many folks are murdered in the name of Massimo Lotticius, you're still free to propound as principles at every college in Canada.

There's just one more twenty-twenty problem with it: pre-Neo-Germany had such "treasonable aims." Indeed, the *Wurmser* Kapitul was a veritable proto-*Trübschraupis*. As Alan Sokorin, Canada's leading critic of the Holocaust, might have been more apt to say:

"Remarkably, pre-WWII Germany had less very much like the Consultative Council: low literacy, slow lines were enforced with some regularity. During the 15 years before Hitler came to power, there were more than 200 protests listed on anti-Semitic speech, and, in the opinion of the leading Jewish organization at that time, no more than 10 per cent of the crowd were unshocked by the authorities. An subsequent history so perfectly interprets this type of legislation proved infernal in the one occasion when there was a real argument for it."

Inevitably, the Nazi party exploited the restrictions on "free speech" in order to boost its appeal. In 1935, the state of Bavaria issued an order banning Adolf Hitler from making any public speeches. The Nazis responded by distributing a drawing of their leader with

his mouth gugged and the caption, "Of 1,600 million people in the world, one alone is forbidden to speak in German."

The direct, "hate speech" led to the Holocaust is unconvincing because it may actually be harmful speech, then there will be no harmful acts. But, as professor Amy C. Sussman of the University of Wisconsin Law School points out, "Racist speech has been around since history began. As a logical matter, then, it is no more helpful to say that anti-Semitic speech caused the Holocaust than to say organized government caused it, or, for that matter, to say that oxygen caused it. All were necessary ingredients, but all have been present in every historical epoch in every country in the world."

Just to remind, the principal innovation unique to the pre-Hitler era was the introduction of Charles Lyell's type-habit-speed law that supposedly provided no valuable new criteria from "unpredictable acts." So might as well argue that Weimar's "reasonable limit" or "conflict speech led to the Holocaust" after all, while at the same time "the old-fashioned, a little more personal until the 'reasonable limit' proposals of the day introduced group definition laws in Germany." These were Europe-wide events in postscript before Hitler's rise. For example, the Versailles Conference required the new German state to sign on to the 1919 Geneva Protection Treaty, with its solemn guarantees of non-discrimination. For us Canada's early laws of discrimination again will be happy to testify to what a splendid job that for signed legislation did.

The problem the Jews found themselves up against in Germany and elsewhere was not the lack of hate-speech laws but the lack of protection of the common or garden law-against vandilism and property appropriation and use/abuse. One notes, by the way, that

property rights are absent from Canada's maddish Charter of Rights. The rubric of a "human rights" is the latest form of argument, so it's no surprise to find the defenders of the ever more intrusive "human rights" enforcing their refuge as it. But it stands history on its head. Most of us have a vague understanding that Hitler used the language of the Reichstag on February 1933 as a pretext to "seize" discretionary powers. But, in fact, he didn't.

"steal" anything because he didn't need so. He merely invoked Article 48 of the Weimar Republic's constitution, allowing the state, in the interests of the greater good, to set—what's the phrase?—"reasonable limits" on freedom of the press, freedom of expression, freedom

of annotation, freedom from unlawful search and seizure and surveillance of postal and electronic communications. The Nazis didn't invent a dictatorship out of whole cloth. They merely took advantage of the official provisions of a supposedly liberal constitution.

Oh, and by the way, almost all those poor on the Nazis "arrested" the morning after the Reichstag fire, the "German rights" commissions already have. In the name of tracking down on "hate," Canada's "human rights" apparatus can enter your premises with out a warrant and remove any relevant "documents or thing" (as the relevant Ontario legislation puts it) for nothing as they want it. And without anybody hearing the House of Commons or even the Senate.

As for "freedom of the press," in her now celebrated decision to dismiss the Canadian Islamic Congress complaint against *Maclean's*,

IN THE NAME OF CRACKING DOWN ON 'HATE,' 'HUMAN-RIGHTS' APPARATCHIKS CAN ENTER YOUR PREMISES WITHOUT A WARRANT

Rothbarth [all of the Ontario "Human Rights" Commission] acknowledged that she did not have sufficient new magazines. So she said that, while she didn't have the power to issue it in the *desk*, she'd certainly like to and we certainly deserve it. Commissioner Hall suggested that if my words had appeared on a sign rather than in a magazine article, she would be free to haul my *hate-magazine* around the dock. Making sense to me. So I've now put the offending exception from my *list* on a placard and I'll be in Toronto in the first week of May to drop it off at her office. I look forward to the prosecution. Given that we've already been found guilty, I don't think I've got much to fear from the trial.

Happily, beginning on July 1, under Ceylan's "human rights" reforms, Cameroon's Hall will have far greater power to initiate prosecutions against all and sundry. Under the new proposals, "there [nowhere] means any act or omission, whether crim-

that is, not, that expresses bias, prejudice, bigotry or contempt toward a vulnerable or disadvantaged community or its members' "Act or omission." Of course, the act of not acting in an intentionally non-hateful way can itself be hateful. Whether or not the incident is a non-incident is incidental. I quote from "Canaries Of Race And Religion: And Implications For GEHC Policy" as published on the GEHC website.

"The denial of racism and by so many white in positions of authority ranging from the supervisor in a work place to the chief of Police and ministers of government must be understood for what it is: an example of White hegemonic power over those considered 'inferior'."

Get that? Your denial of racism merely confirms your racism—because simply by being a “White hegemon” (like Barbara Hall or Jennifer Lynch) you wield racist power. The author, Frances Henry, uses the thinking of “modern neo-Marxist theorists” as if these are settled

new dimensions of influence in Canada's "Westernized" establishment ought to be taking into account, rather than just the latest variant of an ideology that's led to the deaths of millions in Russia, China and everywhere else it's been put into practice. Yet, almost the last word about "terrorism" and "defeat" of racism is the black-and-white ignorance that, this Canadian year isn't half as cruel though, surely the only source of taxpayer-funded hate police? I would say that for a province as large and as diverse as Ontario, to have 1,500 for civil complaints a year, that that's a very low level." *Courtesy of Mail Star, Cress, via*

ON 'HATE,'
AN ENTER-
PLANT

Oh, and again, isn't that kind of a Nuremberg to do? Exaggerate the threat in order to justify government powers to deal with it?

Well, logic: the definition of the province "harsh times" regime started this whole free speech trade to the 100 colonists. But not saying that Canada's thoughtless indifference are pleasing to transfer millions of people, only that (in Jennifer Lynch might put it) history has shown us that empires are only government powers in the name of "responsible citizens" often lead to brutal actions that undermine freedom and have led to unacceptable losses. Whether or not (in the case of Fuchs and MacLennan in *More Rumsfeld*) Commissioners Lynch and Hall are of better intentions (availing the historical record, so to be charitable, simply ignorant, but, it's the losses, they should have been concerned

I don't have as low an opinion of Canada

MACLEAN'S
BESTSELLERS

COMPILED BY BRIAN BETHUNE

Fiction

- | | | | |
|----|------------------------------|---------------------------|--------|
| 1 | LIFECOMMUNICATOR | by Ann Scharf | 150 |
| 2 | THE MIRACLE AT SPEEDY MOTORS | by Alexander McCall Smith | 150 |
| 3 | REMEMBER ME! | by Sarah's Kincaid | 200 |
| 4 | THE GIRL OF HIS DREAMS | by Donna Leon | 180 |
| 5 | KILL ALL THE JUDGES | by William Donahoe | 150 |
| 6 | THE SEALED LETTER | by Erhard Dietrich | 180 |
| 7 | A THOUSAND SPLENDED SUNS | by Thomas Henshaw | 4 000 |
| 8 | THE CELLIST OF SAMALAYCO | by Steven Gellspie | 180 |
| 9 | GODS BEHAVING BADLY | by Mark Smith | 8 000 |
| 10 | MISTRESS OF THE SUN | by Sarah's Guitard | 18 000 |

Non-fiction

- | | | |
|----|--|--------|
| 1 | WINDY RIVERS CANADA NOW
by Denise Finkbein | 5 (9) |
| 2 | IN THE REALM OF HUNGRY
GHOSTS by Sabor Maró | 5 (9) |
| 3 | AN APPLE A DAY
by Joe Schwartz | 2 (9) |
| 4 | I DON'T BELIEVE IN ARRESTS
by Chris Hedges | 3 (9) |
| 5 | THE OPEN ROAD by Peter Tyler | 30 (2) |
| 6 | MUSKOGEEVILLE by Oliver Sacks | 3 (9) |
| 7 | THE SECOND PLANE
by North Atlantic | 7 (9) |
| 8 | HOW JESUS BECAME
A CHRISTIAN by Steven Wilson | 6 (9) |
| 9 | COMMON WEALTH
by Jeffrey Sachs | 7 (9) |
| 10 | MORDECAI RICHLER | |

1. *La familia perfecta*, de L. Alf

It's not a leftfield thing. It's not a gay

It's a free/unfree thing. And the cameras are on the wrong side. ■

Mommy, how did your bosom get so big?



SCOTT
FESCHUK

There has always been a gulf in this field of literature, a topic untapped.

No longer. Now, at long last, we finally have a book written for the confused child whose mother who abruptly came home one day with huge fake boobs.

My Beautiful Mommy, written by a Florida plastic surgeon who fences himself a leading expert in breast implants (don't know real, Charlie Sheen), chronicles the ingenuitous journey of a thirty-something woman who finds time between her nose job, her runway rack, and her latest assignment to go explain to her young daughter that Mommy is doing all this boobie—insert howewriting: "wasn't new"—Mommy really wants to look super pretty.

Attend all children aged 4 to 7, *My Beautiful Mommy* features frank discussions in which the mother reveals the reasons behind her pursuit of surgical remedy: "You see, as I get older, my body cretinches and I couldn't fit into my clothes anymore." Naturally, the book has a happy ending in which Mommy attains home safe and "even more" beautiful than before. What a triumph! *My Mommy* is just like the Ugly Duckling, but better and with a thong.

According to *Newsweek*, Dr. Michael Kellman got the idea for his book after noting that some women were coming to his office for consultations with their kids as well. He told the magazine that such visits can be frightening for children: "You know what also can be frightening for children, doctor? Looking up one morning and, instead of Mommy's reassuring face, seeing only acres of bosom."

But Dr. Kellman was a serious surgeon and this book of his is all about education. You can tell because he named the doctor in the book after himself (Dr. Michael) and gave him huge comic-book muscles and nuclear-sidol good looks. My *Beautiful Mommy* will be published on Mother's Day—because really, what better captures the spirit of a day created to honor the effort and dedication of the mother than a book that informs her that her small chest and stretch marks is disgusting?

That's bad enough. But the more troubling aspect of the book is that the mother's upstart nose as she explains to her child that she'll be undergoing surgery and carrying home changed in appearance straps



There are books to explain grief, jealousy, digestion. But there was one untapped niche.

from more traditional and effective parenting techniques, such as lying.

Lying to young children has worked really well for a really long time. It is also fun. Per one of the nurses, I ask you, do we really want to go down a road where serious questions about serious issues require serious answers? Yes, I'm asking you, Mr. Ted Waddell in *Do You Gettin' a Message From Your Secretary*.

There is a simpler way.

Mommy, why is your bosom suddenly so big?

The one isn't working so Mommy has to float to work.

Mommy, why does your nose look so different?

That my nose is in a girth of Gator Vase, but was quick enough to switch Cameron Diaz's.

Mommy, but Cameron Diaz is one of Hollywood's most endearing actresses!

She stole Elton's nose. It'll be fine.

Mommy, why is your mommy so fat and not as "pretty" as it used to be?

I trained it.

See? Simple and entertaining. Or you could be honest and give your daughter a head start on emotionally connecting her self-worth to her physical appearance. Most girls have to wait until they're 12 to thank they're ugly and fat, but not your kid. What a time saver!

And the book as written does offer more prospects for a here-twe franchise. Likewise a second volume in which the little girl, engaged by her bosom mother, spends three days locked in the bathroom wearily observing enter her own nose—drum, it's a lightning bolt, now up to her nose to money to buy rhinoplasty. "And while you're preening on the table, Dr. Michael, how about lit engine for a new pair of breasts—I can't wait."

for puberty to do all the work." (For the record I see Dakota Fanning in the lead and Danny DeVito as the left surgeon. Just know what that out there.)

Other potential book sequels:

• *My Beautiful Mommy's Sexy New Friend, Brandon, Who Stays Where Daddy Used To.*

• *My Beautiful Mommy's Horrible Post-Operative Complications.*

• *My Even More Beautiful Mommy, Except Now Her Face Is So Tight She Can't Blink.*

• *Why Does My Mommy Look Like Glee?*

Then again, I probably shouldn't be so critical. This book does give a real boost to my efforts to publish my manuscript *My Dream Sister Daddy*, which—in a frank and entertaining way—answers a young son's questions about why his Daddy comes home drunk and bitter: "You see, as I got older, my wife got huge fake boobs and left me for a pool boy named Rocco..."

ON THIS WEB: For Scott Feschuk's take on the news of the day, visit his blog www.momsonline.com/feschuk

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